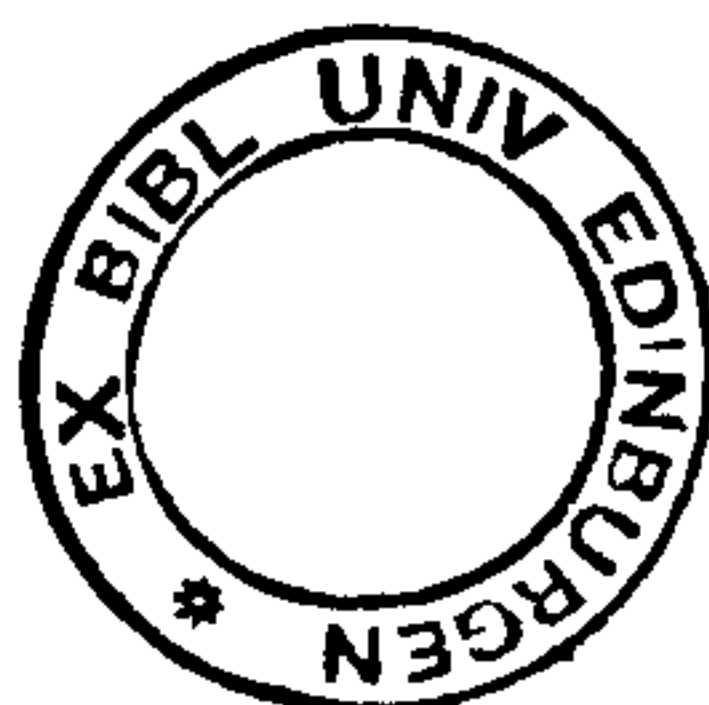


**ROBERT MURRAY McCHEYNE (1813-1843): A STUDY OF AN
EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY SCOTTISH EVANGELICAL**

by
David Victor Yeaworth

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Divinity
of the University of Edinburgh in
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requirements for the
degree of
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1. April 1830.

To
Mother and Dad
and Grace
for countless reasons

It may be given us merely to enter the vineyard of the Lord, and ere the youthful glow of love to the Saviour and His cause on earth has given place to the more staid and sober energies of the matured evangelist, to quit the ministrations of earth for the ministrations of heaven . . . but it is equally true that today is ours!

--"On the Character of Swartz"
January 9, 1835

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INTRODUCTION

"Oh yes, Murray McCheyne. . ." was the usual response the writer received when telling of the topic for this study. This reaction was interesting, not only because it almost invariably omitted the name Robert, by which McCheyne was known, but because it indicated the eminent and familiar position that the name Robert Murray McCheyne continues to occupy within the Christian community on both sides of the Atlantic. Such a response led to a feeling of satisfaction that this study was not to be concerned merely with an unheard-of character who crept insignificantly across the stage of history, but rather one who stands out boldly as a characteristic Evangelical of the Scottish Church of the early nineteenth century. On the other hand, there was the dim but nagging fear that perhaps McCheyne's life and work were too well and completely set down in such works as Andrew Bonar's Memoir and Remains of Robert Murray McCheyne, so that nothing more could be said. If the salient aspects of his life had become so generally known, what could be added?

Gradually, this misgiving was dissolved, through the discovery of a large quantity of primary sources. A substantial number of McCheyne's unpublished manuscripts was

located,¹ which, together with the reading of his published sermons and articles, illuminated the personal, pastoral and homiletical phases of his life. Further, contemporary newspapers and periodicals, and biographies and histories contributed much not only to the understanding of McCheyne and Scottish Evangelicals, but also to the background and environment in which they were set.

Several accounts have been written of McCheyne's life. Bonar's Memoir, a religious classic which has enjoyed phenomenal circulation throughout the world, was published a year after McCheyne's death. Here the emphasis was primarily upon the conflicts and victories of McCheyne's "inner man." Bonar drew extensively from McCheyne's personal writings, so that to a great degree the Memoir is a spiritual autobiography. Writing so soon after McCheyne's death, however, Bonar was not compelled to describe the ecclesiastical and political complexion of Scotland, assuming it to be familiar. At the same time he was not able to mention and evaluate many of McCheyne's living contemporaries. Thus, although it gives great insight into McCheyne's spiritual development, the Memoir is not a complete record of McCheyne's life and work as a minister in the Church of Scotland.

Alexander Smellie's book, based upon much of the same material used in this thesis, is superficial and uncritical.

1. This consisted of nearly 350 letters by and to McCheyne, about 400 sermons (approximately 300 unpublished), 16 notebooks and diaries, a study Bible, and other miscellaneous items. Most of these are in New College Library, Edinburgh. A few are at St. Peter's, Dundee.

Written in 1913, this work proceeds, often starry-eyed, to unwarranted conclusions. Again, the author failed to place his subject firmly within the throbbing excitement of the Church of Scotland prior to the Disruption. Instead, he painted with awe the life of one who, with minor adjustment, might have lived at another time and in another place.

Lesser works, such as J. C. Smith's (which, although purporting to be about McCheyne, is in reality an elderly man's disorganized reminiscences of nineteenth century Dundee), and Maxwell Coder's re-publication of McCheyne's Remains (in which a sketch of McCheyne's life betrays a remarkable lack of accuracy), may hardly be considered to be adequate.

All of these works, while touching on various factors of his life, have tended not to convey a complete picture of the life and work of Robert McCheyne. In none of them was his work and thought analyzed. Because of their chronological proximity, their lack of involvement in what they considered to have been unnecessary details, or their almost reverential regard for McCheyne, they have failed to present him in an historical and critical manner as a nineteenth century Evangelical of the Church of Scotland.

Because of this, the prevailing image of McCheyne which exists in the mind of modern Christians is that of some kind of saint whose only concern was other-worldly. This image is pleasant to some who regard McCheyne to be one of the few who through the centuries have found the secret to a vital and deep relationship to God. On the other hand, it is somewhat

distasteful to others who would agree with the minister who hastily remarked: "He was a queer one, wasn't he!"

Thus, nearly fifty years after the last extensive study of McChesne, and almost fifteen years after the virtually unnoticed centenary of his death, it is not inappropriate to present a carefully documented and authentic account of the life of Robert McChesne, portraying him as one who typified the Evangelical spirit of the early nineteenth century. The writer feels that no apology need be made for the spiritual quality which has been justly emphasized. But although the devotional facet of his life is inescapable, it is seen to have been surrounded by many others which reflect a practical and down-to-earth interest in the affairs of his day. Together with his intense desire to walk humbly and consistently with his God was his dedication to his calling as a minister and churchman. And against the background of contemporary Evangelicals, his thought and actions, which in isolation might appear to be extravagant or lacking, are seen to be consistent with accepted standards and practices.

The major problem of procedure was with the collation of the material. Bonar and Smellie had followed a chronological order of presentation, which fact led to the consideration of a purely topical arrangement. In the end, however, it was resolved to follow chronologically through McChesne's life until the beginning of his Dundee ministry, which was then divided according to the most significant aspects of that seven year period.

The shortness of McCheyne's life gave rise to the opportunity to go into it more thoroughly than might have been expedient had he lived fifty years longer, as many of his friends did. Because of an abundance of information regarding his youth, it was felt to be advisable in Chapter I to lay a solid foundation by showing his normal boyhood, full of childish humor and pranks, giving special attention to the moulding factors of home, school and church. Chapter II depicts his conversion, being the watershed of his experience, and goes on to describe his spiritual development and theological preparation. Chapter III attends to his personal devotional life, being the driving force of his ministry. Chapters IV and V relate to his work as a pastor and preacher, leading to Chapters VI and VII which describe his activity in missionary endeavor and in the Awakening of 1839-43. Chapter VIII is devoted to his participation in the controversial and ecclesiastical affairs which faced the Church prior to the Disruption.

In short, the purpose of this thesis is to portray McCheyne as a typical Evangelical minister--not merely a "saint" but a man--whose spark was an intense spirituality, and yet whose human involvements were sane and well balanced. An attempt was made to place him in history, showing the surrounding influences of his friends and teachers, and some of the prevailing customs and habits of the Church's work and worship. In this regard, more than a passing allusion to these personalities and customs (e.g. Chalmers and "fencing the tables")

was felt to be vital in a comprehensive presentation of McChoyne. At the same time, the language and expressions used by McChoyne, being typical of Evangelicalism, were not felt to be in need of explanation.

Indebtedness is gratefully acknowledged to many for their guidance and interest in the preparation of this work: to the Very Rev. Principal Emeritus Hugh Watt under whose supervision this project was undertaken, to the Rev. Professor W. S. Tindal and the Rev. Principal John H. S. Durleigh for patient advice and constructive help during the preparation and writing, to the Rev. Professor James S. Stewart who read and criticized Chapter V, to the Rev. Professor J. A. Lamb who on countless occasions furnished the chest of McChoyne manuscripts in New College Library, and to Miss Erna R. Leslie who was always ready to help with the multiplicity of details.

Deepest thanks are also due to the Rev. and Mrs. David G. Gray of St. Peter's, Dundee, who hospitably attended to the writer's scholastic and physical needs on numerous occasions, to the Rev. and Mrs. R. Waldrum who assisted in regard to a book written by Mrs. Waldrum's father (Kirkwood Hewat) about one of McChoyne's elders, to the Rev. Duncan G. Darroch of McChoyne Memorial, Dundee, to the Rev. Alexander Ross of Burghead Free Church and Associate Editor of the Evangelical Quarterly, to Mr. Gordon Watson, Dundee Town Clerk, to the Editor of the Dundee Courier and Advertiser for access to files, to the Editor of the Scotsman, and to the librarians and staffs of New College Library, University of Edinburgh

Library, National Library of Scotland, Signet Library (Edinburgh), Edinburgh Public Library, The British Museum, Dundee Public Library, Register House (Edinburgh), and the Church of Scotland Library (Tolbooth St. John's, Edinburgh).

Particular gratitude is expressed to the writer's wife, who cheerfully underwrote much of this study by teaching for two years at Queen Anne School, Dunfermline, and enjoying it.

The spelling in this thesis follows American usage, except in direct quotes which adhere to the authors' usage. Occasionally, the authors were not particular about form, as seen in McChoyne's inconsistency regarding the capitalizing of pronouns referring to Divinity.

May, 1957

D. V. Y.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

<u>BDES</u>	<u>Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen</u> , Thomas Thomson, ed., London: Blackie and Son, 1875.
<u>DNB</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography</u> , Sydney Lee, ed., London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1908.
<u>Fasti</u>	<u>Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae</u> , (New Edition), Hew Scott, ed., Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1917.
<u>HFMR</u>	<u>Home and Foreign Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland</u> .
<u>Memoir</u>	Donar, A. A., <u>Memoir and Remains of Robert Murray McChesno</u> , Edinburgh: William Oliphant and Co., 1865.
<u>NSA</u>	<u>New Statistical Account of Scotland</u> , Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1845.

CHAPTER ONE

THE BOY IN THE HOME

(1813-1831)

From morn till eve, from eve till merry morn
I kissed the rose nor thought about the thorn.
My eye, my ear, my taste I lived to please
In one unbroken round of idle ease.

--"Response," Feb. 14, 1832

THE BOY IN THE HOME

On November 1, 1802, Adam McChoyne, a young law student from Penpont parish, Dumfriesshire, married Lockhart Murray Dickson, from Ruthwell, in the same county.¹ Adam, born in 1781--just before the notorious Buchanites settled at nearby "Buchan Ha!"²--was the sixth and youngest child of William McChoyne (d. 1811), whose ancestry can be consecutively traced to the first half of the seventeenth century.³ His appears to have been an average "working class" family. Adam's eldest brother was a lieutenant in the 64th Regiment of Foot, and was followed by two brothers, one of whom was a stonedyker and the other a gardener. The latter at his death left an estate valued at four shillings and twopence.⁴ But Adam was favored to have been allowed to pursue higher

1. History of the Society of Writers to His Majesty's Signet, p. 229.

2. R. M. F. Watson, Closeburn, Reminiscent, Historic and Traditional, pp. 188 ff.

3. The Penpont and Morton Parochial Registers, and a gravestone in Penpont parish churchyard combine to trace the McChoyne family to the death of "James McChian" in 1729, aged 87. G. F. Black, The Surnames of Scotland, p. 467, mentions a "Thomas McChyne" in Dumfriesshire in the 1650's. The name is of Irish origin.

4. "Process of Multiplepoinding: W. O. H. McChoyne's Judicial Factor vs. Mrs. Agnes McChoyne Brown and Others, in 1894," and "Extracted Process No. 7 of February 1896," in Register House, Edinburgh.

learning, and his family may well have followed the custom of the time in which one son was supported by the others as he made his way through the university.

Soon after the wedding the new couple joined the throngs who were being lured to Edinburgh during what has been called the "golden age of Scotland."¹ The Industrial Revolution brought increases in commerce and industry, and together with a resurgence of literature, scholarship and science toward the end of the eighteenth century attracted thousands to the Forth-Clyde area. Trevelyan describes Edinburgh's position:

No longer a political capital, it was still the legal, fashionable and intellectual capital of the country; and law, fashion and intellect were all rapidly on the up-grade in the wealthier and more active-minded Scotland of the new era.²

Thus, where it had been a small static community in 1700, confined to the High Street, Edinburgh's population began to double every fifty years until it reached nearly 100,000 in 1800, and 200,000 by 1850.³

To meet this great influx, and to add to the bustle, the city was in the middle of an extensive building program. To the north, the New Town, centering in George and Queen Streets and bounded by St. Andrew's and Charlotte Squares, was emerging as a showplace of architecture. Elsewhere, the new University, Register House, and other public buildings were added. To any Scot in search of adventure and advancement,

1. G. M. Trevelyan, English Social History, p. 461.

2. Ibid.

3. Edinburgh: 1329-1929, p. 403.

fame and fortune, Edinburgh had much to offer.

Adam McCheyne entered the legal profession at a time when it was particularly strong, and when the ministry, which had been the dominant body in Scotland's history, was in a period of decline. Stressing "moderation in all things," the Church's leading party in the eighteenth century recoiled from the enthusiasm and bigotry of its fathers. Its members, who included "men of outstanding intellectual ability, solid principle, complete sincerity, and genuine piety,"¹ were satisfied with an innocuous Church which had nothing for which to contend except tolerance and culture. Thomas Chalmers described the times as "the dark age of the Church of Scotland,"² in which Moderatism was in control and patronage the practice. It was common for zealous persons to be dubbed "High-Fliers" and "the Wild,"³ although even many "Evangelical" ministers were setting a sorry example.⁴ Because of such ministerial laxity and little popular voice in church affairs, many laymen left the established church for the rapidly growing secession bodies,⁵ while those with less zeal lost interest altogether.

The spread of democratic ideals, as seen in the American Declaration of Independence and the French Revolution, did

1. G. D. Henderson, The Church of Scotland, p. 256.

2. J. Watson, Life of Robert Smith Candlish, p. 6.

3. Henry Cockburn, Memorials of His Time, p. 234, Alexander Carlyle, Autobiography, p. 248.

4. Carlyle, op. cit., pp. 250-252, described the Evangelical leader Alexander Webster as being equally famous for his conviviality and his orthodoxy--"a five-bottle man who could lay them all under the table."

5. P. Hume Brown, Short History of Scotland, p. 320 quotes an estimate of 150,000 dissenters by 1799.

away with the authoritarian rule of enlightened despots, and established the doctrine that sovereignty rested in the will of the people. Campbell showed how this affected the Church as he described the weakness of Moderatism under the leadership of less able men than Robertson, Blair, and Carlyle:

It was decadent, maintaining a tradition without the vital energy of those who had created the tradition. To the panic-stricken it afforded no refuge; to the new democratic spirit it could offer no guidance. Its great days were over . . . Moderatism had always been deficient in the propagandist spirit; and during the long years of its ascendancy it had made no attempt to bring the masses over to its side. It was too aloof, too academic to understand the desires which were now surging in the popular heart.¹

Thus, the hope of the Church lay in Evangelicalism, which was being roused from its long obscurity. And while the Church was again regaining its feet, many in the legal profession stepped forward to take the leadership which had once belonged to the Church.

But McChayne was not to remain an ordinary lawyer. Instead he underwent training for, and in 1814 became a member of the Society of Writers to His Majesty's Signet,² that "ancient society of law agents who conduct cases before the Court of Session and have the exclusive privilege of preparing crown writs, charters, precepts, etc."³ Thus, by careful preparation and hard work Adam McChayne elevated himself above the humble station into which he had been born.

1. Andrew J. Campbell, Two Centuries of the Church of Scotland, pp. 145-149.

2. Signet History, loc. cit.

3. Oxford English Dictionary, XII, p. 380.

Beside the wealth which would accrue to a Writer, as is seen in the fact that the McCheyne family lived in well-appointed homes in Dublin Street, Queen Street, and Hill Street,¹ and in the fact that McCheyne was able to leave his wife a considerable estate at his death,² there were other emoluments. The Society's history recounts the ancient privileges and immunities of the members of the College of Justice, of which the Society was a part.³ Cockburn, writing in 1833, commented upon a tax on house rents which for two centuries had formed the chief means for the payment of the Edinburgh clergy. At the time of the original levy it was too much for this legal body to pay. But times had changed:

The members of the College of Justice, supposed to be the wealthiest class in the place, have always been exempted. This exemption, which has no rational ground on which it can now rest has long been growled at, and during the late canvass all the candidates were obliged to pledge themselves to destroy it . . . Jeffrey redeemed his pledge by introducing a bill to this effect. This was opposed by some of the College, chiefly the Writers to the Signet, because it interfered with their interests . . .⁴

As a lawyer and a Writer, Adam McCheyne became acquainted with many influential and prominent people. "He was a man," said Smellie, "of social importance."⁵ In his own field he was associated with Henry Cockburn, Francis Jeffrey,

1. The home at 20 Hill Street is now used as a meeting hall for, among other groups, an association of spiritualists.

2. Record of Inventories, LXXXII, January to April, 1854, Commissariat of Edinburgh, at Register House, Edinburgh.

3. Signet History, pp. 42-44.

4. Cockburn, Journal, I, pp. 51, 52.

5. Alexander Smellie, Robert Murray McCheyne, p. 19.

Adam Gillies, the Hopes, and others who held high office in the courts. His home was often visited by ministers, military men, and educators, as well as lawyers. The names of General Graham Sterling; Dr. David Wilsone, a natural scientist who did research in America; Dr. Henry Duncan, founder of the savings banks; Principal John Hunter of the United Colleges, St. Andrews, "unquestionably the first philologist of the age;"¹ and others appear in family correspondence in such a way as to show that they were not strangers to the McChoyne family.

Adam McChoyne was without apology a Tory, and, according to Cockburn, this party in Scotland hardly ever stood for anything except a hatred of popular institutions. Although the majority of the population favored it, Cockburn insisted that it attacked anything that would be dangerous to its hegemony. "Hence the great Tory object was," he wrote, "to abuse everybody but themselves, and in particular to ascribe a thirst for bloodshed and anarchy, not merely to their avowed opponents, but to the whole body of the people."²

But McChoyne, Cockburn's colleague-at-law, had a similar passion for his politics. In complete accord with Samuel Johnson, who opined, "I have always said the first Whig was the Devil,"³ he wrote to his son in India:

Pray have you any vermin called Whigs and Radicals or Radical-Whigs in Hindustan? If you

1. New Statistical Account of Scotland, IV, p. 82.

2. Cockburn, Memorials, pp. 61, 62.

3. James Boswell, The Life of Samuel Johnson, III, p. 351.

have, I pray you to keep clear of them. They are very venomous creatures. They are like to play the devil here in Britain. They unite in bands when they attack anyone--otherwise they are quite harmless, except to each other.¹

However, his zeal for the Tory party was not without due consideration. Rather, he felt that many were adhering to the Whigs through ignorance and misunderstanding. For example, speaking of the Irish Church question and its expected result of either unseating or more firmly establishing the conservative government in power, he said: "I am afraid of the former. The people are not yet sufficiently aware of the danger. They are deceived . . ."²

Like her husband, Lockhart Murray Dickson was the youngest in her family. Born in 1772, she was the ninth child of David Dickson. Not much is known of her life, but in contrast to her husband's family, hers was in the upper strata of society. Her father was the proprietor of Nether Locharrowood estate, the most prosperous in Ruthwell parish,³ and the children were accustomed to a quiet leisurely life. One of his sons became minister of South Leith parish.⁴ That a certain snobbishness existed in the Dickson family may be seen as Lockhart's niece later wrote:

My sisters . . . are far too young to be encouraged prowling about the parish, talking to all the ploughmen and women on religion and

1. A. McCheyne, MS. letter to Wm. McCheyne, April 8, 1835.

2. Ibid.

3. Parochial Register: Ruthwell Parish, 1723-1830; NSA, IV, p. 231.

4. New Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae, I, p. 164.

conversion. This sort of feeling of equality there is too much of in Scotland, and is hateful to me. The lower orders are very well in their way, but should be kept in their proper places--you will say what pride; we are all alike in the eyes of God--and so we are; but as long as we remain in this world it is our duty to keep up the distinctions of rank--or if not I should fear having some brothers-in-law in the shape of pious tallow chandlers, or tinkers, or ploughmen, presented to me, and then told they were Christians, far better than my unconverted self.¹

Yet, Adam McCheyne's family would have been included in this inferior category.²

To these parents Robert Murray McCheyne was born on May 21, 1813, at 14 Dublin Street, Edinburgh,³ the youngest of five children. The eldest was David Thomas (1804-1831), who followed his father into the field of law. Elizabeth Mary (1806-1888), who never married, became the "lady" of her youngest brother's manse in Dundee. After his death she bought her own home in Edinburgh,⁴ where her parents lived with her until their deaths in 1854.⁵ William Oswald

1. Julia Dickson: MS. letter to R. M. McCheyne, Dec. 20, 1842.

2. There is some indication that Adam McCheyne was not too close to his family in Dumfries in later life. In all his writings and the writings of his children, no mention is made of his family, except of a nephew who was Relief minister in Kelso. Smellie (p. 27) speaks of "excursions for the young people to Thornhill" (Adam's home), but there is no record of such. In contrast, the Dickson family is mentioned often, and a close relationship is obvious.

3. Parochial Register: Edinburgh parish, 1807-1814. Until recently a plaque has hung on the front of this house, designating it as McCheyne's birthplace. It has since been removed and is in the care of the Church of Scotland.

4. 24 Maitland Street. Sasines Register, Edinburgh, 1851-53, at Register House.

5. Adam McCheyne died February 24, 1854 of "erysepilas" and his wife followed on May 17, (Smellie, p. 24, erroneously says May 15.) of "haemoptym." Parochial Register, St. Cuthbert's parish, D. 1850-54.

Hunter (1809-1892), was often sick as a young man, but outlived the rest of the family. He studied medicine at Edinburgh, and in 1831 was sent to India under the Bengal Medical Service. He later became a surgeon in the Honourable East India Company, from which he retired to Edinburgh, where he died leaving a considerable estate.¹ Isabella (1811), the younger daughter, died only four months after her birth.² As none of these children married, the family estate was handed from one survivor to the next, finally going to a distant relative in the United States after William's death.³

From their mother, who was described as being "more buoyant, more lighthearted, and at times more gay than . . . the vigorous writer to the Signet,"⁴ the children inherited their good natured tempers, kindly spirits, and love for happiness. From their father, who gave the impression of a "capable, shrewd, trusted, and trustworthy man of business, in whose advice his clients would confide with implicit faith: a man, moreover, whose opinions on politics and public affairs were clear-cut and strong,"⁵ they acquired strength of character, ability to lead, and energy to accomplish their given tasks systematically. Through both father and mother they became acquainted with gentle living and the finer things

1. Valued at over 5,000 pounds. Calendar of Confirmations and Inventories, 1893.

2. Smellie, p. 18, records Isabella's birth as in the "autumn of 1811," rather than June 29, and dates her death as nine months later instead of four months (Nov. 1, 1811).

3. "Process of Multiplepointing," et al., op. cit.

4. Smellie, op. cit., p. 21.

5. Ibid., p. 20.

which were found in abundance by the professional class in the "Athens of the North," their family being by no means in straightened circumstances. Whereas many, like David Livingstone (who was only two months older than Robert McCheyne), were forced to begin work at the age of ten, the McCheyne children were able to spend their youth in the more pleasant routine of school and leisure.¹

There is much evidence of camaraderie and good fellowship within the McCheyne family, both between parents and children, and among the children. While the father claimed that "it was no part of my character to spare the rod," neither did he neglect his offspring nor remain aloof from them. He took a personal hand in their education, tutoring them before they entered school, and later helping them with their school lessons.² His continued interest was demonstrated as he, with fatherly pride, copied several of Robert's high school essays and poems into notebooks for their preservation as family achievements. He took his son David as an apprentice for five years, and kept him as an associate after his admittance to the Society in 1826.³ His wise guidance was such that his children early developed a self-confidence and independence, and the letters between father and sons are consistently free and natural, and show

1. W. G. Blaikie, The Personal Life of David Livingstone, pp. 8, 9. On his parents' gravestone, Livingstone expressed thanks for "poor and pious parents."

2. A. McCheyne, MS. letter to Andrew A. Bonar, April 22, 1843.

3. Signet History, p. 229.

a happy, relaxed friendship.

The feeling of the sons for their father is seen in the succession of "Odes" written each year for his birthday. At first they were composed by David, who happily employed many devices from an acrostic to Scots dialect to honor his parent and to recount the family's joys. In 1827 he saluted:

Lo, another year is numbered,
Hail, loved birthday of my sire!
Wake, my muse, that long hast slumbered,
Wake the long forgotten lyre.¹

When David died, Robert in sorrow took up the pen. Recalling the happiness of other years, in 1833 he wrote:

And now, though the flower of the flock be away
Shall we who remain be unmoved by this day?
No--the waves of Life's heyday have sunk into rest,
Our gaiety chastened, our folly repressed.
But the smaller home's circle, the closer we'll cling,
When we draw round the hearth in the family ring.
And the youngsters that share in the children's bread
Shall join with thy children to honor thy head;
And to pray that as oft as thy birthday appears,
Thy purified joys may increase with thy years.²

There was also a great attachment between mother and children. Smellie says of her: "Many floods could not crown the love that pulsed within her for her children."³ And the feeling was reciprocated as is seen in many of the "Odes" where she was lovingly presented as the one who so often comforted and consoled, when

. . . at eve as we convene
O'er tragic tale, and wi' watry e'en.⁴

1. D. McChoyne, MS, "Birthday Ode," Jan. 27, 1827, Notebook XVII.

2. McChoyne, MS, "Birthday Ode," Jan. 27, 1833, ibid.

3. Smellie, op. cit., p. 22.

4. D. McChoyne, MS, "Effusion for 27th January," 1826, Notebook XVII.

To her doctor son in India she exhibited her motherly care:
 "I dread every letter for fear of ague. O do be careful of
 keeping your feet always dry; change your stockings often,
 and flannels."¹ Robert, being the youngest child, received
 an extra portion of her love. David referred to this,
 " . . . Bob, whom his Mam calls the flower of the pack,"² and:

. . . And Bobby boy,³
 His mother's joy . . .

On the back of one of Robert's letters to her she wrote: "You
 will please return this to me same afternoon? I like to keep
 all my dear Robert's letters."⁴

The McCheyne children were closely knit together, the
 elder ones patiently helping the younger and contributing
 to their happiness. The father spoke of David as being of
 "the greatest use to his two younger brothers," and recalled
 David's "teaching them down to the day of his death."⁵ They
 spent many hours playing games,⁶ and the letters between them
 show much good humor and merriment, as is seen in David's
 "Epistles to Bob."⁷ This happiness is also shown in the
 children's notebooks, filled with valentines and poetry to

1. L. M. McCheyne, MS. letter to William O. H. McCheyne, March 3, 1835.

2. D. McCheyne, MS. "The Summer Ramble," Notebook XVII.

3. D. McCheyne, MS. "Birthday Ode," Jan. 27, 1831, ibid.

4. McCheyne, MS. letter to Mother, July 18, 1836.

5. A. McCheyne, MS. letter to Bonar, op. cit. Fergus
 Ferguson, Andrew A. Bonar, among other errors stated that
 David had been a "father" to the family after the death of
 Adam McCheyne, (p. 12).

6. McCheyne, MS. letter to Wm. McCheyne, Oct. 20, 1827.

7. MS. Notebook XVII.

each other, a "Scroll of Fate" containing youthful predictions, as well as accounts of family outings and country walks.¹

As the children grew older, their love showed itself in deep concern for each other's welfare. When William went to India, the entire family joined in sending long solicitous letters to him, and when he was not heard from for a long time great consternation was exhibited by all.² Eliza Mary became a great help to Robert in his church activities and kept the family informed about his health and work. From Dundee she wrote: "I trust that He who has given him a fervent desire to be a faithful labourer will shew him very plainly and distinctly in what part of the field He would have him work."³ And Robert's feelings for David are amply shown in his writings and poetry after his brother's death.

As a boy Robert was said to have been "blessed with a sweet, docile, and affectionate temper." His father pictured him as "always a boy of the most amiable, I may even say noble, disposition. I never found him guilty of a lie or of any mean or unworthy action; and he had a great contempt for such things in others." And, in spite of the fact that he considered himself to have been a stern disciplinarian, Adam McChoyne added, "I hardly recollect any instance of my having to inflict personal chastisement upon

1. MS notebooks, passim.

2. McChoyne Family, MS. letters, 1835, 1836, passim.

3. E. McChoyne, MS. letter to Parents, Feb. 3, 1837.

him."¹

At the same time, Robert was the lively member of his family. He was always active, and was never without a circle of friends around him. He had a melodious voice, a pleasant sense of humor, and was greatly interested in bodily exercise--all of which contributed to his popularity. His brother mentioned him in one of the "Odes:"

And Robert Murray--rising sun,
Lang may you bleeze up the fun,
Tho' born to be an awfu' gun.²

Charles Dent Bell, Rector of Cheltenham, reminiscing on his youth wrote, "My recollections of McCheyne are those of a tall, slender lad, with a sweet pleasant face, bright yet grave, fond of play, and of a blameless life. I remember to this day his tartan trousers, which excited my admiration and my envy."³

From his earliest days Robert gave evidence of being disciplined and neat. His childish letters and student notebooks display a handwriting which is at once beautiful and easy to read. And this trait continued to the end of his life, in his carefully worked out sermons, letters, and detailed drawings. Although it was his nature to grasp some subject or to accomplish some project quickly, he was not inclined to be indolent or slothful. As a student he wrote

1. A. McCheyne, MS. letter to Bonar, op. cit.

2. C. McCheyne, MS. "Birthday Ode," Jan. 27, 1826, Notebook XVII.

3. Charles Dent Bell, Reminiscences of a Boyhood in the Early Part of the Century, p. 165.

an essay in which he praised the virtues and blessings of early rising. While sleep was necessary for babies and children, there came a time when it was more profitable to curtail the hours in which man wastes "the best and most useful part of his life in drowsiness and lying in bed." Not the least reason for this discipline was the esthetic benefit of being able to climb "some lofty eminence to enjoy that innocent and not useless gratification" of beholding the sunrise.¹

As he grew older, and his whole outlook on life was transformed, McCheyne's desire for self-mastery was changed into that of self-mortification, and he practiced a vigorous discipline which pervaded every part of his being, especially in the areas of the spiritual and the devotional life.

Although brought up in the city, young Robert was very fond of the country, and in later life preferred a rural parish, although he felt that God had led him to an urban charge.² He shared David's views that with

. . . smoke and dust, mud, stinks and noise,
 . . . you may sum the city's joys,³

even though, in his ministry, he did come to love Dundee, of which he wrote: "My sweet parish is just a little paradise."⁴

Adam McCheyne often allowed his children to take long

1. McCheyne, MS, "On Early Rising," Dec. 3, 1829, Notebook II.

2. McCheyne, MS. letter to Lady Carmichael, Jan. 30, 1837.

3. D. McCheyne, MS, "Epistle to Bob," July 26, 1823, Notebook XVII.

4. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, April 4, 1837.

excursions both in the Highlands and in the Lowlands, having "the greatest confidence in their prudence and good behavior."¹ These journeys, often on foot, extended as far as Dunkeld, Gretna, and even Aberdeen, and included visits and overnight stops in manses of ministerial friends along the way.² Robert recounted these experiences in some farewell verses to a boyhood friend:

Go seek after glory, but still call to mind
The friends of thy boyhood so loving and loved;
Ah think of the days when our young hearts were kind
When through the sweet vallies of Roslin we roved!

In fancy, again we shall pull the sweet heather
That purples the cliffs of the Trosack's [sic] wild glen,
Again the bright waves of Loch Katrine [sic] we'll weather
And list the wild scream of the boatmen again!³

During vacation periods the children often visited their mother's family at Clarence Cottage in Ruthwell, and it was always with great reluctance that Robert left to go back to Edinburgh. He enjoyed farm life and became fond of horses and riding. In a poem written on departing from Ruthwell, he sentimentalized:

Farewell to the barn, to the stable and byre,
To Jessie and Mollie, to the blood full of fire.
On whom I have galloped o'er muir bleak and bare,
And seen the famed tomb-stone of Helen the Fair.⁴

This fondness he was able to put to good use in later life, for it was on his horse "Tully" that many of his pastoral duties were carried out, both in Larbert and in Dundee.

1. A. McCheyne, MS. letter to Bonar, op. cit.

2. D. McCheyne, MS. letter to Parents, Aug. 21, 1823.

3. McCheyne, MS. "All that's bright must fade," Oct. 26, 1831, Notebook XVIII.

4. McCheyne, MS. "Adieu," 1827, Notebook II.

Adam Philip commented on McCheyne's ability: "He was a fine horseman, and dearly loved what he called a scamper up the Carse."¹

From Clarence Cottage many visits were made to the nearby manse of Ruthwell parish, where

. . . gymnastics we plied,
Where both pole and rope I have oftentimes tried.²

Such bodily exercise he continued as often as possible throughout his life, and by it he was enabled to undergo many of the strenuous days which lay ahead in the ministry.

As a young boy, McCheyne displayed a humorous side to his character, a trait which, although later disciplined, was never abandoned. When he was fourteen he wrote to his medical brother:

We were all overcome, astonished, amazed, confounded, grieved, and afflicted to hear that you had got a sore throat. We could fain hope that you are now far advanced in a convalescent state, and that you will soon be able to bleed blisters or cut off legs (as may be necessary), as much as usual.³

He playfully scolded his elder brother: "You say you sent a parcel on Wednesday the 9th. Now, if you will rack your noodle a little you will perhaps find out that Wednesday was the 10th instead of the 9th."⁴ And along with a hamper of food for his parents he sent a letter, addressed "Auld Reekie," in which was a boyish post script:

1. Adam Philip, The Evangel in Gowrie, p. 335.

2. McCheyne, MS, "Adieu," loc. cit.

3. McCheyne, MS. letter to Wm. McCheyne, Oct. 20, 1827.

4. McCheyne, MS. letter to D. McCheyne, Oct. 20, 1827.

This short epistle please excuse.
 I have more to write and little news.
 There's an old proverb, a wise law,
 Says "Gie them sma' and you'll ser' a'."

The harper's paid, remember't well.
 Don't pay again, and so farewell.¹

In the same letter he mentioned meeting an American visitor at Ruthwell manse, "who speaks English pretty well."

For his circle of friends he began a semi-serious tragedy, listing their names in the dramatis personae as Sir Simon Simpleface (R. M. M.), Dr. Pedrillo Sangrado (W. O. H. M.), Sir Timothy Flashfire, (M. M.), Sir Gregory Mixture (J. D. H.), Mr. Anthony Evergreen (A. G.), . . . plus, "Screndrawers, candlesnuffers, laqueys, bellringers, etc., etc., by various two legged animals." But the big attraction was that:

There will also be a Prologue, composed expressly for this occasion by Ebenezer Scribble-tresh, Poet-Laureate to the Establishment.²

As has been hinted at above, McChayne early became interested in the arts: poetry, drawing, and literature. His father recalled that he "gave early promise of a turn for letters," and was very proud of the fact that at the age of four Robert was able to write the Greek alphabet from memory.³ He caught his brother David's interest in literature, and with him filled several large notebooks with all kinds of poetry and prose, both original and copied, in

1. McChayne, MS. letter to Parents, Oct. 20, 1827.

2. McChayne, MS, "The Gamester," Dec. 30, 1830, Notebook XVIII.

3. Adam McChayne, MS. letter to Bonar, op. cit.

English and in Latin. In fact, his early poetry, although predominantly doggrel, is a primary source of information about this period of his life.

Robert Burns, as a child, is reported to have written as his first rhyme:

A rat, a rat, for want of stairs,
Ran down a rope to say its prayers.¹

Similarly, young Robert McCheyne, who was later to write more somber poetry, used the same iambic in composing one of his earliest couplets:

Miss Mary Dickson, that sweet dove,²
To you and all sends her kind love.²

Even as a child, however, his literary nature was manifested in a more serious light. He wrote a descriptive narrative of the coming of autumn, in which he quoted from such sources as Milton's Paradise Lost,

The country is now assuming a bleak and wintry appearance, and the weather is now very unsteady, "smiles and tears together." The woods are beautifully variegated, but the leaves are fast falling, and are already nearly as thick as those that "strew the brook of Vallombrosa." Still the cottage looks beautiful and green. Still its inmates are gay--"ever dancing, full of glee"--though all around be wet and dreary.³

McCheyne's literary enthusiasm increased as his education progressed, and it was in this field that he was most proficient, both in the high school and at the university.

1. Peter Esslemont, Brithers A', p. 65. This couplet has also been attributed to Isaac Watts as a young boy.

2. McCheyne, MS. letter to Wm. McCheyne, Oct. 20, 1827.

3. McCheyne, MS. letter to Parents, Oct. 20, 1827.

Drawing came naturally to Robert McCheyne, and sketches and pictures abound in his papers. He may have begun by tracing and copying, for his copybooks contain the reproduced signatures of George III and Henry Dundas, as well as tracings of angels and high priests from an old family Bible.¹ Once, in a letter to his parents, he mentioned attending a tea; but instead of saying where it was, he drew a detailed picture of the house, confident that his readers would instantly recognize it.² He sketched the members of his family and friends, and the picture which is most often displayed of him is a copy of a self-portrait which was retouched after his death.³ This artistic talent was useful to him on his later travels, to record scenes and events in a day before the perfection of photography.

Religious life in the McCheyne family during Robert's youth, while not deep and profound, laid a good foundation for what was to come. "Father and mother," said Smellie, "were accustomed to think on those things which are true and honourable and just and pure and lovely; and both by speech and by example they encouraged their children to do the same."⁴ Adam McCheyne and his family attended church regularly, and sat under some of the leading preachers in Edinburgh. the McCheynes' predilection gradually changing from Moderate to

1. MS. notebooks, passim, especially II and XVIII.

2. McCheyne, MS. letter to Parents, op. cit.

3. Reproductions of this portrait hang in the churches in Larbert and Dundee where McCheyne ministered, and a copy is in the Memoir. McCheyne's original sketch is reproduced as the frontispiece of this thesis.

4. Smellie, op. cit., p. 22.

Evangelical.

In Robert's early youth the family attended the Tron Church where the children stayed after the morning service to receive instruction in the catechism and in hymns. Their father recalled that "the congregation who remained to hear used to be struck with their peculiarly harmonious recitations."¹

The ministers of the Tron, William Simpson and Alexander Brunton, were closely connected with the literary world. Simpson's son James, who was an outstanding exponent of non-sectarian education for children, was able to include Sir Walter Scott among his close friends, and had occasion to read several of his novels before publication.² Brunton, who was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1823, married Mary Balfour, who enjoyed a great deal of success as a novelist before her early death. Brunton himself was an able linguist, and was Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages at the University of Edinburgh. In addition to his teaching, he contributed grammars and other works to his field.³ Interested in missionary activity, Brunton became the first convener of the India Mission Committee.⁴

In 1829 the McCheyne family went to the newly built church of St. Stephen's whose minister was William Muir.⁵

1. A. McCheyne, MS. letter to Bonar, op. cit.

2. Dictionary of National Biography, XVIII, p. 270.

3. Ibid., III, p. 148, and William Anderson, The Scottish Nation, I, p. 445.

4. Fasts, I, p. 137.

5. A. McCheyne, MS. letter to Bonar, op. cit.

Robert at this time was old enough to take an active interest in the church, and became a member. During the winters of 1829-30 and 1830-31, beside the ordinary services of worship, he attended a series of meetings on Thursday nights in the vestry, where he became well acquainted with his minister. Muir at this time recommended the young student by writing, "His principles are sound and his conduct exemplary."¹

Muir was a man of definite Evangelical sympathies, but he could not assent to the ecclesiastical policy of the Evangelical party. At the same time he disagreed with the older Moderates as to the part the people should have in the selection of their ministers.² In 1839, when forced to state his position, he became famous for his "middle course," trying to reconcile the two opposing views regarding the settlement of ministers.³ Although his course was defeated, Muir, who had been Moderator in 1838, continued to exert much influence. He remained within the Established Church at the Disruption, was often consulted by the government on ecclesiastical matters, and was appointed Dean of the Order of the Thistle.⁴

After Robert left home and entered the ministry, his family transferred, upon his recommendation, to St. Luke's. The minister was the thoroughly Evangelical Alexander Moody (later Moody Stuart),⁵ who was a close friend of Robert's,

1. W. Muir, MS. note about Robert McCheyne, Nov. 20, 1829.

2. Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

3. DNB, XIII, p. 1166.

4. *Fasti*, I, p. 116.

5. Smellie, *op. cit.*, p. 23, hastily concluded that the family made this change because of Robert's insistence that they "seek out a ministry whose tone was definitely and consistently Evangelical." There is no verification of this. It was most likely due to Robert's friendship with Moody.

and who was described by him as "a growing and moving minister."¹ Here Adam McCheyne became an elder in 1837,² and through this he began to play an active layman's part in the Church on a national level, being a commissioner to the General Assembly not only from his own presbytery in 1841, but also the Presbytery of Auchterarder in 1842.³ His adherence to Evangelical policy is seen in that he signed the Claim of Right in 1842, and the Deed of Demission in 1843,⁴ and was the first session clerk of Free St. Luke's.⁵

But, as shall be seen below, the deep spiritual tone which came into the McCheyne family was the result of the experiences of several of the children, rather than the influence of the parents. While they were never "far from the kingdom," the McCheynes were soon to become involved in a series of events which enabled them to give full expression to what they may have felt within them for a long time.

Together with his home and family background, Robert's education was significant in moulding his character. Between the years of five and six he started at the English School in Edinburgh, under George Knight, where he distinguished himself in recitation. But when he left the school in 1821

1. McCheyne, MS. letter to Father, Nov. 23, 1835.

2. McCheyne, MS. letter to Parents, Sept. 24, 1837.

3. McCheyne, MS. letter to Parents, April 24, 1841; The Witness, April 9, 1842.

4. The Witness, May 25, 1842; James A. Wylie (ed.), Disruption Worthies, p. 466.

5. Kenneth Moody Stuart, Alexander Moody Stuart, p. 55. Professionally, Adam McCheyne was the agent for St. Luke's in 1850, in a case which was decided in favor of the church--to build on an adjoining lot. (Cases Decided in Court of Session, XII, p. 1258).

he was disappointed because he had won only the second prize instead of the first as his brother and sister had done in previous years.¹

He then went on to the High School, and in due course was enrolled in the class of Aglionby Ross Carson, the rector. Carson came from the same part of Dumfriesshire as did Adam McCheyne, and was educated at Wallace-Hall Academy during the same period.² Hence, it is conceivable that the two men were acquainted in youth. Carson had studied divinity at the University of Edinburgh, but was called to teach in Dumfries immediately upon completion of his course. His acquaintance with the family and his inclination toward the ministry, in addition to his inspiration as a teacher, had a great effect upon the life of the young student, Robert McCheyne.

Described as "worthy successor of Adam and Pillans,"³ Carson was once offered the chair of Greek at St. Andrews University.⁴ He refused it in order to continue at the High School whence "he sent out from his classes a succession of remarkable Scotsmen all over the world, who traced to his character and learning all that made them honourable and prosperous."⁵ He was a contributor to the Encyclopedia Britannica⁶ and inspired his students to have a high regard for scholarship.

1. A. McCheyne, MS. letter to Bonar, op. cit.

2. DNB, III, p. 1094; C. T. Ramage, Drumlanrig Castle and the Douglases, p. 270.

3. George Smith, A Modern Apostle: Alexander N. Somerville, p. 12.

4. William Anderson, The Scottish Nation, I, p. 599.

5. Smith, loc. cit.

6. DNB, loc. cit.

Under Carson McCheyne became actively interested in the classics and history. Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Tibullus enthralled him; and he did more than the required translations. A "Blank Verse Translation of Part of the Second Georgic of Virgil" was, in 1827, his "first attempt at composition."¹ This was followed by his "first attempt in Latin versification," on a theme from Virgil,² and eventually original poems in Latin, such as "In Solem," "Ad Edinam," "Proelium Lindense," "Pertamen Equorum," and "In Lucem."

Known as the "poet-laureate of Carson's class,"³ McCheyne at this time lived in the classics, and boyishly imitated the ancient poets. Yet his own compositions are not without their own distinctive style and character, and whether in blank verse or in rhyme they flow along with ease. His subject matter was typical of a student of his age, heroic and idealistic. His most elaborate composition was "To Greece," which was read in the Rector's Class. Of this Andrew Bonar observed, "The lines are characterized chiefly by an enthusiasm for liberty and Grecian heroism, for in those days his soul had never soared to a higher region."⁴ Lamenting with Byron that "'Tis Greece, but living Greece no more!" McCheyne was concerned that this once illustrious folk was so complacent

1. McCheyne, MS, "Blank Verse Translation of Part of the Second Georgic of Virgil," 1827, Notebook II.

2. McCheyne, MS, "Et varios ponit foetus autumnus," 1827, *ibid.*

3. Smellie, *op. cit.*, p. 27, quotes this from an anonymous magazine article.

4. Andrew A. Bonar, Memoir and Remains of Robert Murray McCheyne, p. 14, hereafter referred to as Memoir.

under the rule of Turkey, and he entreated:

Rise Graecia, rise--dare to be free;
 These fetters ne'er were forged for thee!
 Arise, and to thy lovely shore
 Its long-lost liberty restore.
 Awake degenerate Greeks, awake;
 The Turkish bands asunder break.
 Hurl the proud pagan from his throne,¹
 And make your fathers' fame your own!

Robert also continued to maintain his high standard of work in other courses, and on leaving the High School in 1827 was again particularly distinguished, among other merits, for his work in recitation and geography.² For his last examination he wrote "Poema Valedicens," which he translated and read to the class. He closed by paying tribute to Carson for opening to him "Antiquity's delightful stores," and called him "Instructor--Friend."³

As a student at the High School, McCheyne first became acquainted with Alexander Somerville, who was to become his life-long friend. A fellow student later described their friendship:

These two seemed literally inseparable; along with many others I was often amused at the closeness of their companionship. They sat beside each other in the class-room; they came and went together; they were usually seen walking side by side in the street; or if one of them turned round a corner, the other was sure to come in sight a minute after. The one seemed to haunt the other like a shadow, and nothing, apparently, could separate the two bosom friends.⁴

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1. McCheyne, MS. "To Greece," Jan., 1827, Notebook II.
 2. A. McCheyne, MS. letter to Bonar, op. cit.
 3. McCheyne, MS. "Poema Valedicens," Aug. 6, 1827, Notebook II.
 4. James Dodds, as quoted in Smith, op. cit., p. 12.

This friendship grew as the young men left the High School for the University of Edinburgh which they were fortunate to enter at a time when it was basking in the glory of many outstanding professors, and when science and letters were at their zenith. Robert Burns in the preceding century had given new impetus to poetry; Walter Scott was being acclaimed all over Europe for his novels; the Edinburgh Review and Blackwood's made Edinburgh the center of literary and philosophic criticism, so that, Trevelyan states it "was hardly less important than London in the British world of letters."¹ David Hume, Adam Smith, and others had elevated Scotland's position in philosophy and economics and Edinburgh's School of Medicine had risen into high repute.

For the next four years McCheyne was to be taught by some of the most able men of his day. George Dunbar, Professor of Greek, while not leaving a lasting reputation, contributed grammars, histories, and lexicons to his field.² In his classes McCheyne was stimulated to go beyond mere language study, and became interested in Greek customs and arts. He contributed essays on Greek tragedy and the chorus in Greek drama, and was awarded a prize for a translation of Aeschylus' "Prometheus Vincit."³

Robert Jameson, Professor of Natural History, was a leading mineralogist. Having studied in Germany, he carried

1. Trevelyan, op. cit., p. 462.

2. DNB, VI, p. 153.

3. McCheyne, MS, "Prometheus Vincit", Notebook II.

back to Scotland much of its influence, and for the rest of his life he kept Britain informed as to the scientific progress of Europe. He was co-founder of the Edinburgh Philosophical Journal, and among other writings contributed to the Encyclopedia Britannica.¹

The name of John Leslie was famous for his contributions in the field of physics, particularly the study of heat radiation. He was appointed Professor of Natural Philosophy in 1819, although he had previously been opposed by ministers of the Church of Scotland who took exception to his quoting with approval from the writings of David Hume. A brilliant original thinker, Leslie lacked the capacity of clearly presenting his material to his students. Toward the end of his life he was knighted for his scientific discoveries and contributions.²

In the department of mathematics the Professor was William Wallace. An inventor of instruments for the transcribing of mathematical figures, he also wrote for the Encyclopedia Britannica,³ and was noted for his ability clearly to communicate his learning.⁴ In this department McCheyne also acquitted himself in good style, his algebra instructor stating:

His uniform propriety of behaviour and singular diligence merit every commendation; his talents are excellent; and he has accordingly attained a very

1. DNB, X, p. 671.

2. Ibid., XI, p. 984.

3. Ibid., XX, p. 572.

4. Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen, Thomas Thomson (ed.), III, p. 489.

accurate and comprehensive knowledge of the subjects of this study.¹

In Logic, McCheyne's professor was David Ritchie, who as minister of St. Andrew's Church, had been elected Moderator of the General Assembly in 1814.² From Ritchie Robert received his initial taste of philosophy as such--his "first attempt!" being an essay on Grecian philosophy at the close of the golden era of literature.³

But there were two professors who were to make a greater impact on the life of the young undergraduate. They were James Pillans and John Wilson. Pillans was Professor of Humanity, McCheyne's main pursuit at this time.⁴ As a teacher, Pillans' success lay in his ability to instill within his students a lively interest and appreciative taste for the beauty of Latin literature.⁵ And McCheyne, whose appetite had been whetted at the High School, found ample abundance for his taste. Among other things was a thorough study of Horace, and one of his translations was included in the class album for the Professor.⁶

There is evidence of great attraction on the part of McCheyne to the epigrams of Martialis, and he amused himself

1. Walter Nichol, MS. note concerning Robert McCheyne, April 14, 1830.

2. Pastl, I, p. 90.

3. McCheyne, MS, "On the State of Philosophy," Dec. 23, 1823, Notebook II.

4. Adam McCheyne's will, Dec. 31, 1827, Record of Testamentary Deeds, Vol. AF, March 1, 1854, Commissariat of Edinburgh.

5. DNE, XV, p. 1189.

6. McCheyne, MS, "Horace, Book I, Ode xviii," Dec. 18, 1827, Notebook II.

by composing "Imitations of Martial," including:

The revel of last night you cannot say
Infects Tom's breath; he always drinks till day.

and:

Why do Rosina's teeth so dingy grow,
And Angelina's emulate the snow?
Hers from dame nature Miss Rosina got,
While hers from Haysmith's, Angelina bought.¹

But his grasp of Latin is especially seen in his diary of later years, where it was often easier to express his deep feelings in the ancient language rather than in his own. After noting the events of the day, he frequently poured out a statement concerning his own spiritual condition, such as: "Poenitentia profunda, non sine lacrymis. Nunquam me ipsum, tam vilem, tam inutilem, tam pauperem, et praecipue tam ingratum, adhuc vidi. Sint lacrymae dedicationis meae pignora!"²

It was John Wilson who made the deepest impression upon the students of McCheyne's time, being regarded as "the most stimulating teacher in the University of Edinburgh of his day."³ But his position as professor of moral philosophy was exceedingly enigmatical, for his life after leaving Glasgow (where he was renowned for his athletic prowess) and

1. McCheyne, MS, "Imitations of Martial," ibid.

2. McCheyne, diary entry, Dec. 4, 1831, Memoir, p. 24.
"Deep penitence, not unmixed with tears. I never before saw myself so vile, so useless, so poor, and above all, so ungrateful. May these tears be the pledges of my self-dedication."

3. Alan L. Strout, "A Study in Periodical Patchwork: John Wilson's 'Recreations of Christopher North'," in Modern Language Review, April, 1943.

Oxford Universities had been characterized by lack of purpose. "Retiring" to the Lake District, he enjoyed the company of Wordsworth, Southey, DeQuincey, and Coleridge.¹ Eventually he was forced to work, and after several failures became successful as a contributor to Blackwood's Magazine.

As "Christopher North" Wilson became one of the outstanding literary figures of the time. In his series of dialogues, Noctes Ambrosianae, he and James Hogg, "the Ettrick Shepherd" discussed and criticized every current topic and event. Cockburn, who condemned the "slander" of Blackwood's as a whole, praised the genius of the Noctes, calling it "jovial dramatic fiction . . ." which abounded in the "spirit of fresh boyish gaiety . . ." ²

Because of such a boisterous and unsettled life, and because of several overt acts, Wilson encountered much opposition to his appointment to the University.³ However, friends rallied to his side, and he was chosen (because he was a Tory and "had no obvious disqualifications"⁴) over a more qualified candidate. But what was deemed an improper appointment turned out better than was expected.⁵

It was during Wilson's peak that McCheyne sat under him. The students, while aware of his limitations as a

1. Joanna S. Moncrieff, Noctes Ambrosianae: An Abridgment, p. xxi.

2. Cockburn, Memorials, p. 318.

3. Alan L. Strout, "John Wilson's Election to the Professorship of Moral Philosophy," in A Journal of English Literary History, Dec., 1939, pp. 292-296.

4. DNB, XXI, p. 580.

5. Ibid.

philosopher, recognized his genius and were greatly attracted to him. James McCosh, a contemporary of McCheyne, and later president of Princeton University, recalled that when Wilson entered the classroom the students always received him with loud applause: "He usually came into the classroom fresh, as if he had just dropped from the lakes and hills of Cumberland . . . He commenced by opening his portfolio, and read from a number of scattered papers--some of them on the fly-leaves of old letters."¹

Wilson endeared himself to his students, not only by his powerful and stimulating lectures, but also by being a judicious friend and counsellor to all who came to him.² Certainly one who was so energetic and youthful in outlook, as well as who possessed so strong an intellect, could inspire his young charges both physically and mentally. Here was a professor who was not so far removed from life as his students saw it. Thus, it was natural that McCheyne, athletic, full of life, and with literary leanings, should be drawn to Wilson, rather than there being "something piquant," as Smellie imagined, "in the thought of Robert McCheyne as a favourite pupil of Christopher North, the gentle and delicate lad conquering the esteem of the bluff and leonine and boisterous author of the Noctes Ambrosianae . . ."³

In Wilson's class the climax came to McCheyne's classical studies. He was awarded the prize for the best composition,

1. W. M. Sloane, (ed.), The Life of James McCosh, p. 39.

2. William Anderson, The Scottish Nation, III, p. 654.

3. Smellie, op. cit., p. 30.

his being a twenty-page poem on "The Covenanters." Here he pictured a seventeenth century conventicle meeting in the Pentlands, singing Psalms with swords beneath shepherds' plaids. The preacher came from his hiding place and began the worship, only to be interrupted by a band of soldiers, who dragged him off to Edinburgh where he calmly accepted imprisonment and the sentence of death. His last words, as he stepped to the gallows, were consistent with his whole life-- not bitter nor angry:

Ye faithful ones,
 Let not the horrors of my cruel death
 Disturb your heavenward race. For if with Christ
 We suffer, then with Him we shall exult.
 He that unwavering to the end endures
 Shall live, But now ye created things
 Farewell! Thou glorious sun, farewell! Thy rays
 Shall light on me no more, nor any heat.
 Farewell, thou blessed Book! Thou wast through life
 Mine only comfort; thou art all my strength
 In death. Farewell, all friends and earthly joys!
 Believing, preaching, praying, all farewell!
 Welcome, grim death! Thrice welcome, endless bliss!
 Welcome, ye beckoning angels, bearing robes
 Purer and whiter than the drifted snow!
 Welcome, thou precious crown! Welcome, thou harp
 Of brightest gold, whose chords I soon shall strike
 In heavenly measures to the praise of Him
 Who died for me! Welcome, Thou Lamb of God,
 Thou joy and portion of my weary soul,
 Which shall endure through all eternity.¹

This was only the beginning of Wilson's commendation of McCheyne's ability. For, in addition to the compositions for his classes, McCheyne wrote many others. One of these, written several years later, was described as a work which "John Wilson has stamped with his honoured approval."² And on

1. McCheyne, MS. poem, "The Covenanters," March 20, 1830.
 2. BDES, op. cit., III, p. 3, referring to "On Mungo Park's Finding a Tuft of Green Grass in the African Desert."

completing his course in moral philosophy, McCheyne, for his over-all scholarship and contributions, was lauded as "a distinguished student" by his professor.¹

McCheyne also attended classes in French, gymnastics, and elocution, the latter in which he excelled.²

In his ministry McCheyne exhibited a continued interest in all these subjects, and made use of them wherever possible in his preaching. Bonar commented that it was often at the very moment that he was making a spiritual application that "his previous studies would sometimes flash into his mind some happy illustration of divine truth."³ He often read books of general knowledge, such as on insect architecture, to broaden his horizons and expand his sources of illustrative material.⁴

As a student, and all through his life, McCheyne possessed a quick mind and "intellectual powers . . . of a high order."⁵ Although his father judged his proficiency merely to be "above mediocrity,"⁶ it is evident that he was making a modest understatement. Bonar recalled McCheyne's abilities as being characterized by extensive acquaintance with all kinds of knowledge, which he retained by a strong memory. He also had a discriminating and enterprising mind which was able to analyze and carry out what was suggested.⁷ Nevertheless,

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1. John Wilson, MS. note about McCheyne, Spring, 1830.
 2. A. McCheyne, MS. letter to Andrew A. Bonar, op. cit.
 3. Memoir, p. 33.
 4. Ibid., p. 44.
 5. Ibid., p. 41.
 6. A. McCheyne, MS. letter to Bonar, op. cit.
 7. Memoir, loc. cit.

McCheyne did not receive his university degree, since at that time little encouragement was given to graduation, and few degrees were taken.¹

Outside the classroom McCheyne maintained his scholastic interests. He was a member of the Academic Society, to which he contributed a variety of essays and poems, ranging in subject matter from discipline and humility, to the control of human passions--not unlike the themes of Moderate preachers.² While all of these works were imbued with the highest morality, he was later to rue the time he had wasted with what he considered trivial topics, or the way he had treated them. At the end of his essay "On Early Rising" he some time afterward penned, "Read, I am sorry to say, before the Academic Society."³ And his subsequent observation of his essay on accepting or refusing challenges, in which he stoutly upheld the virtue of declining the summons, was, "Ah wretched me!"⁴

Even though McCheyne was competent in his studies, his father evidently thought he could have done better, and gave his social activities as the reasons why he did not:

Robert, though perfectly correct in his conduct, was of a more lively turn than David and during the first three years of his attendance at the University turned his attentions to elocution and poetry and the pleasures of society rather

1. J. R. Fleming, A History of the Church of Scotland, I, p. 4.

2. William M. Taylor, The Scottish Pulpit from the Reformation, p. 148.

3. McCheyne, MS, "On Early Rising," loc. cit.

4. McCheyne, MS, "Whether it is More Magnanimous to Refuse or to Accept a Challenge?" April, 1829, Notebook II.

more, perhaps, than was altogether consistent with prudence. His powers of singing and reciting were at that time very great and his company was courted on that account more than was favourable to graver pursuits.¹

He was indeed well acquainted with what Bonar called "worldly joys" and "lighter pursuits."² With his many friends, he lived and enjoyed a gay social life, filled with parties and dances. In some lines not significant for their poetic value, he revealed his attitude at this time:

When the wild march of life I first began,
('Tis not so long ago) my earliest plan
Was just precisely what you now advise,
To eat, drink, laugh, sleep, wake, and thus grow wise.
From morn till eve, from eve till merry morn
I kissed the rose nor thought about the thorn.
My eye, my ear, my taste I lived to please
In one unbroken round of idle ease.
Deep was my sleep beneath the magic spell,
And life went merry as a marriage bell . . .
Amid the gambols of the thoughtless crowd,
My song and laugh were loudest of the loud.
My stiff quadrille and waltzer's swirling joy
Filled up the pleasures of the happy boy.³

Among his friends, McCheyne included a number of young ladies, whose favor he tried to win in accordance with his quest for popularity. Describing what he called the "chief of boyhood's mysteries--to love--or fancy that we love,"⁴ he told how he went about gaining their attention:

On other objects soon my eyes were turned,
And youth's romance within my bosom burned.
To dangle lightly by a lady's side
And win a fav'ring look was now my pride.

1. A. McCheyne, MS. letter to Bonar, op. cit.

2. Memoir, p. 22.

3. McCheyne, MS. "Response," Feb. 14, 1832, Notebook XVIII.

4. McCheyne, MS. "Fragment," n.d., ibid.

I cultivated graces, becks and smiles,
And sought preferment by such slavish wiles.¹

These young ladies he discreetly honored in valentine, and many memorable incidents were recorded in verse. There was Susannah, who was added to the nine muses: "To eulogize a tenth is mine, from Annandale!"² Of "Caroline," who was leaving for England, he entreated: "Think of thy luckless, forsaken, but true Valentine."³ When a wild flower was picked "in a city pleasure-garden during a fashionable festivity," he was requested to write "To a Mountain Daisy."⁴ His boyish regard was shown for "Emily" as he pleaded: "Forget me not . . ."⁵ A lock of "Constance's" hair was inserted next to his poems about her. And the notebook in which most of the poetry of this time was written was the gift of Mondego Mary MacGregor, sister of one of his friends. Many pages are in her hand, concluding with "Remember M. M.," followed by a sketch of her. For several years he celebrated her birthdays in verse. McCheyne's interest in such a diverse group of young ladies within so short a period (primarily between 1829 and 1831), indicates that his experience was typical of a boy in his late adolescence, who was encouraged by the readiness with which his attentions were received.

The principles which guided McCheyne's life during his

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1. McCheyne, MS. "Response," loc. cit.
 2. McCheyne, MS. "Address to Miss Susannah Hawkins," Sept. 23, 1829, Notebook II.
 3. McCheyne, MS. "Una Canzonetta," Feb. 14, 1830, Notebook XVIII.
 4. McCheyne, MS. "To a Mountain Daisy," May, 1830, ibid.
 5. McCheyne, MS. "Farewell Canzonet," Sept. 4, 1832, ibid.

undergraduate days were largely based upon what he had been absorbing from the classics, and were characteristic of one who was talented and confident. Up to now his life had been one of ease and contentment, marred by few sorrows and trials. When a severe illness suddenly struck him in 1830, he was forced to pause and remember that such things did happen, and out of self-pity he wrote:

Ah little they think who peevishly cry
That time passes sadly and slow;
How painfully each sluggish hour crawls by
To one stretched on the pillow of woe!¹

Having been brought up in the church, having been well-versed with its teachings, and having lived a life of good reputation, McCheyne's attitude was not yet Christian; at best, it was Pelagian. His world revolved around himself, and he felt capable of coping with any problem or difficulty with his own strength or mental capacity. All that a man needed to be he could be, by virtue of his own attainment and striving. He must use every moment to cultivate thought, feeling, and love "in exploring the pathway to heaven."² To the Academic Society he urged:

Up then, and be stirring, let's work while it is day,
For soon shall be darkness and sorrow;
Up, up, let us handle the plough while we may,
Unswerving, undaunted, pursuing our way--
We never may see a tomorrow!³

1. McCheyne, MS. "Pensiori Melanconici!", Aug., 1830, Notebook II.

2. McCheyne, MS. "Live While You Live," Oct., 1830, ibid.

3. McCheyne, MS. "Valedictory to the Academic," April, 1831, ibid.

In an essay on controlling the passions he recognized that as the result of the fall "licentious passions are warring against the law of our minds." But his solution was not Christ's but Juvenal's: "Know thyself . . . the beginning of wisdom . . . to lay open our own bosom and from thence to drag to the light every guilty passion."

Not only was there no outside help in this battle, there was little motivation: " . . . in the struggle of the passions we have little else to animate us than cool reason, the love of being virtuous, and the love of integrity of duty." His references and sources were Cicero and the ancients, therefore the individual and his part in the struggle was dominant. To become master of his passions man must constantly be on guard: "Every step which we recede, they make double advances upon us, and if we are ever slack in watching their motions . . . they will assuredly overcome us entirely."¹

Citing heroes of ancient history, McCheyne listed the reasons for persistence in the conflict with one's passions:

Heaven sees nothing more illustrious, on earth nothing is more glorious than the man who has the power of commanding his passions. Who would not choose to be a Socrates or a Cato who conquered the basest of their passions, much more than a Caesar or an Alexander who were the slaves of their ambitions?

The saints of old, who claimed the power of God in their lives, had not yet impressed themselves upon the mind of the young student as examples worth following.

1. McCheyne, MS. "On the Government of the Passions," Jan., 1829, ibid.

To his idealistic and well-ordered mind it was through reason that freedom from the bondage of evil was achieved. "Let us then be convinced that true happiness is to be found in a well-regulated mind where passions never enter in to blast and to destroy."¹ Victory was assured as the individual strove to "improve his mind, the noblest gift of Heaven."²

Certain qualities were to be sought, merely because it was more virtuous to have them. Humility, for example, was desirable, not because he recognized his failings and defects--because he had no reason to be anything but humble--but rather for the sake of being humble. It was a trait which self-sufficiency could develop as the necessity arose:

To that man who is truly wise humility is dearest,
The bough that's laden most with fruit, bonds to
the ground the nearest.³

The philosophy of Robert McCheyne, being formulated, at this time, by so young and idealistic a student, will be seen to be particularly significant as it is compared with his new thoughts which were to manifest themselves less than a year hence. His family and education contributed to his growth as a normal lively and thoughtful young man. But other factors were about to enter into McCheyne's life to change its course completely, and cause his outlook to be entirely different.

1. Ibid.

2. McCheyne, MS, "Valedictory to the Academic," loc. cit.

3. McCheyne, MS, "Humility," July 16, 1830, ibid.

CHAPTER TWO

THE STUDENT IN PREPARATION (1831-1836)

I come to Christ because I know
The very worst are called to go
And when in faith I find Him,
I'll walk in Him and lean on Him
Because I cannot move a limb
Until He say, "Unbind him!"

--30 June, 1833

THE STUDENT IN PREPARATION

It was 1831 which proved to be the pivotal year in the life of Robert McCheyne. The past eighteen years had been lived in contentment and happiness:

When the tears that we shed were the tears of our joy,
And the pleasures of home were unmixed with alloy.¹

Quite suddenly, however, as Robert was finishing his studies at the University, and was laying plans for his future, his tranquil existence was invaded by separation and death.

In April, William, who had completed his medical studies, was assigned to India under the Bengal Medical Service. Because he was the first to leave the home, and was removed to such a distance as Asia with all its dangers, his departure caused much anxiety among those he left behind.

But this sorrow was heightened by the fact that at the time of William's embarkation David was in a fever from a cold. William was not certain that he would ever see his brother again, and his fears were realized, for David, never improving, died on July 8, 1831.

Both of these brothers were described by their father

1. McCheyne, MS. "Birthday Ode," Jan. 27, 1833, loc. cit.

as "rare examples" to their younger brother, as they were "well conducted lads of the greatest promise."¹ Robert being considerably younger than David, had regarded him as a youthful idol, closely watching his every action. He was delighted when David devoted time to him, in study and in play. And there is evidence of a great similarity between the two. Robert had always enjoyed his brother's poetry, and his earliest verses were guided by and patterned after David's.²

But it was David's character that ultimately affected Robert the most. Throughout his life David had been consistently circumspect in his behavior. Yet in spite of his morality, he realized that something was lacking, and, as his father described it, "during the last years of his life his mind became deeply impressed with eternal realities."³ There is no indication as to how his conversion came about. But by his exemplary life and by his constant urging, he recommended it to the rest of the family. The family, however, while still professing an interest in religion and morality, was not so disposed to such spirituality, and would have none of it, as Robert later indicated to a boy in his parish:

Another thing that persuades me to write you, my dear boy, is, that I have felt in my own experience the want of having a friend to direct and

1. A. McChoyne, MS. letter to Bonar, op. cit.

2. An example of Robert's regard for his brother's poetry may be seen in his insertion of David's "Luther, A Fragment" in the Scottish Christian Herald, June 8, 1839, p. 352.

3. A. McChoyne, MS. letter to Bonar, op. cit.

counsel me. I had a kind brother as you have, who taught me many things. He gave me a Bible, and persuaded me to read it; he tried to train me as a gardener trains the apple-tree upon the wall; but all in vain. I thought myself far wiser than he, and would always take my own way; and many a time, I well remember, I have seen him reading his Bible, or shutting his closet door to pray, when I have been dressing to go to some frolic, or some dance of folly.¹

Now, however, Robert had seen his beloved brother die. He had seen the pain and the periods of gloom which it brought at first. But then he had seen the joy and resignation, as David patiently waited for the end. And during it all he had heard more of his brother's urgings to consider Christ.

Robert was personally touched, and spent many hours sorrowfully recalling his departed brother to mind. On one occasion he tried to paint from memory a likeness of David, but gave it up, and wrote a long, yet unfinished poem, showing his despair:

Alas! Not perfect yet--another touch,
And still another, and another still,
Till those dull lips breathe life, and yonder eye
Lose its lack-lustre hue, and be lit up
With the warm glance of living feeling. No--
It can never be! Ah, poor powerless art!

But beside the personal grief, he more keenly felt the loss of one who had been an inspiration to him. Having recalled his brother's features in verse, he went on to describe his faith and example:

And oh! recall the look of faith sincere,
With which that eye would scrutinize the page

1. McChesney, Letter, Aug. 8, 1836, Memoir, p. 56.

That tells us of offended God appeased
 By awful sacrifice upon the cross
 Of Calvary--that bids us leave a world
 Immersed in darkness and in death, and seek
 A better country. Ah! how oft that eye
 Would turn on me, with pity's tenderest look,
 And only half-upbraiding, bid me flee¹
 From the vain idols of my boyish heart--

Elsewhere, he poignantly recounted David's appearances in his dreams, as well as in his memory, gently bidding him to rest neither night nor day until he be able to say that he had found the "Pearl of Price."² He never again mentioned David's name without also referring to his spiritual influence. This he constantly attempted to recall to the rest of the family, as he did in 1835 to William:

On, Willie, when the world looks enticing and we are well-nigh giving up Christ and salvation for some pitiful pleasure that perishes in the using--if all heavenly arguments fail--a dying Saviour, a beseeching God--then may this earthly one have power to save us--even the remembrance of that gentle and most Christian brother whose kindness we too little esteemed while he lived, and who so often and in so many ways tried to save us from a world lying in wickedness.³

And now, in the light of David's death, Robert was confronted with his need for the forgiveness and power of Christ. No doubt it was because he himself had undergone attacks of sudden and severe illness, such as David had, that Robert stopped and began to examine his life. He was aware that, although he was athletic and sportive, he was

1. McCheyne, MS, "On Painting the Miniature Likeness of One Departed," Notebook XVIII, also Memoir, pp. 17, 18.
 2. McCheyne, MS, "The Righteous Perisheth, and No Man Layeth it to Heart," Notebook XVIII, also Memoir, pp. 19, 20.
 3. McCheyne, MS, letter to Wm. McCheyne, March 3, 1835.

not physically robust. His heart was not as strong as it should have been and he was susceptible to respiratory ailments. Although not encountered in such an intimate way before this, death had already frequently entered his thoughts. A year previously he had written:

Ah little we think when the beautiful flower
Is fresh and graceful to the view,
That within the space of one little hour¹
The canker of death may destroy its hue.

Robert also compared his moral rectitude with that which David displayed before his conversion. He himself had always been esteemed to have had many Christian traits, just as David had been. But he was aware that it was merely a pharisaical morality. Bonar recalled: "I have heard him say that there was a correctness and a propriety in his demeanor at times of devotion, and in public worship, which some, who knew not his heart, were ready to put to the account of real feeling." As yet, however, his soul was "unawakened to a sense of guilt," as he could only boast "a sentimental devotedness of mind that chastens the feelings without changing the heart."² Thus, as he contrasted his present state with David's peaceful and joyous experience at his death, Robert knew that the similarity was ended. David had had something that went beyond his own experience.

Whatever his thoughts, it is certain that it was the death of his brother that caused Robert McCheyne to begin

1. McCheyne, MS, "Pensieri Melancolic!" loc. cit.

2. Nemour, p. 14.

to heed David's advice to turn from what he considered his own wickedness to Jesus Christ. His father, in commenting on this change, wrote: "The holy example and the happy death of his brother David seem by the blessing of God to have given a new impulse to his mind in the right direction."¹ Robert himself considered this date to have been the beginning of the change in his life, and in succeeding years he referred to it. In 1832 he noted, "On this morning last year came the first overwhelming blow to my worldliness . . . "² And still later he wrote to a friend, "This day eleven years ago I lost my loved and loving brother, and began to seek a Brother who cannot die."³

It is remarkable that at the beginning of his religious experience, McCheyne felt that there was no person to turn to for assistance. In spite of the numerous family connections and his own acquaintance with ministers, he expressed his regret that, because of distance, and more generally, a lack of interest in what he considered of prime importance, he was unable to receive counsel or guidance. In a letter to a young parishioner, he reflected upon this:

. . . this dear friend and brother died; and though his death made a greater impression upon me than ever his life had done, still I found the misery of being friendless. I do not mean that I had no relations and worldly friends, for I had many; but I had no friend who cared for my soul.

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1. A. McCheyne, MS. letter to Bonar, op. cit.
 2. McCheyne, diary entry, July 8, 1832, Memoir, p. 20.
 3. A. McCheyne, MS. letter to Bonar, op. cit.

I had none to direct me to the Saviour--none to awaken my slumbering conscience--none to tell me about the blood of Jesus washing away all my sin--none to tell me of the Spirit who is so willing to change the heart, and give the victory over passions. I had no minister to take me by the hand, and say, "Come with me, and we will do thee good."¹

This ministerial reserve impressed him so much that in his own ministry he made it a point to encourage young people to converse with him freely.² For spiritual guidance, therefore, McCheyne turned to Christian literature. In addition to the Bible, he earnestly read biographical, devotional and theological works to find a pattern for his life.

He began by reading the Sum of Saving Knowledge, which he described as, "The work which I think first of all wrought a saving change in me. How gladly would I renew the reading of it if that change might be carried on to perfection."³ In this cold and stiff tome (which, at that time was bound together with the Confession of Faith), with its many divisions and sub-divisions, and its emphasis upon the doctrine of election, the young enquirer found much to help him in his search. Many parts of the Sum, such as "The Evidences of True Faith," manifested themselves time and again in McCheyne's religious experience.⁴ Such formulas of

1. McCheyne, Letter, Aug. 8, 1836, Memoir, p. 56.

2. Memoir, p. 21.

3. McCheyne, diary entry, March 11, 1834, Memoir, p. 23.

4. Sum of Saving Knowledge, in Westminster Confession of Faith, 1855 ed., p. 539. Concerning the influence of the Sum in McCheyne's conversion, the British and Foreign Evangelical Review, April, 1868, p. 262, commented: "The Holy Spirit, no doubt, is sovereign in the use of the means which He blesses for conversion; but it is difficult to imagine anything more unlike the style of McCheyne's preaching than the cold and stiff dialectics of that summa theologiae."

self-examination appealed to this man who was zealous and thorough by nature.

Before long he came to read the recently published lives of Henry Martyn and Legh Richmond. His reason for reading such biography was to become intimate with the principles of consecrated lives, as he explained:

Oh then, if it be the object of the essayist to paint in the colours of truth the living man--to present him to the view of the mind's eye by tracing the glowing lineaments of his Christian heart--ought not the effect to be though not in degree yet in kind the very same. In a word, ought not the result of such a contemplation to be not so much that the fancy is amused--the intellect improved--or even the mere admiration excited--as that "the heart is made better."¹

Although McChoyne, with all his popularity, athletic and academic interest, could not find much of his own personality reflected in the gloomy,² introverted "Little Harry" Martyn,³ he was greatly impressed with the Indian missionary's devotional and evangelistic experiences. He recorded Martyn's words about his unworthiness, unprofitableness, anxiety for his labors, confidence in God's will, and premonition of an early death.⁴ Similar thoughts found expression in McChoyne's writings, and, like Martyn, his prescience of a short life was to come true. After reading Martyn's adventures, he wrote: "Would I could imitate him, giving up father, mother, country, house, wealth, life,

1. McChoyne, MS. "On the Character of Swartz," Jan. 9, 1835.

2. *Ibid.*, where McChoyne contrasts Martyn's melancholia with Swartz's cheerfulness.

3. John Sargent, The Life of Henry Martyn, *passim*.

4. McChoyne, MS. "Notes on Henry Martyn's Life," 1831.

all--for Christ. And yet, what hinders?"¹ Even though the missionary's life was not his, McCheyne later wrote many articles on missions, using some of the incidents of Martyn's life.² He praised Martyn for relinquishing everything and wearing out his life in the wilderness: "Virtues like thine demand an angel's string."³

In reading about Richmond, who had become a minister in the Church of England before his conversion,⁴ McCheyne saw a parallel to his unconverted morality. As he continued through the book, with all its evidences of Richmond's growing closeness to God as seen in extracts from his journal and letters, McCheyne, who was later to display the same spirit, at this time wrote of his sense of ingratitude and spiritual poverty, together with his desire to rededicate what he considered to be his useless self.⁵

The transformation wrought in McCheyne's life, while not instantaneous, was to become all-inclusive. Where he had previously been content with his own righteousness, now he was gradually made aware of his own sinfulness. His change strikingly paralleled that of Thomas Chalmers at his conversion. The great Church leader wrote of his ideals before his awakening:

1. McCheyne, diary entry, Nov. 24, 1831, Memoir, p. 24.

2. McCheyne, "Sabat the Arabian," pp. 114 ff.; "Abdool Messee, An Indian Convert," pp. 163 ff., in The Scottish Christian Herald, II, 1837.

3. McCheyne, MS. "On Reading 'The Camel Driver' by Collins," Sept. 8, 1832, Notebook XVIII.

4. T. S. Grimshawe, Memoir of Th^r Rev. Iaph Richmond, p. 15.

5. Memoir, p. 24.

For the greater part of that time I could expatiate on the meanness of dishonesty, on the villainy of falsehood, on the despicable arts of calumny: in a word, upon all those deformities of character which awaken the natural indignation of the human heart against the pests and disturbers of human society. Now could I, upon the strength of these warm expositions, have got the thief to give up his stealing, and the evil-speaker his censoriousness, and the liar his deviations from the truth, I should have felt all the repose of one who had gotten his ultimate object. It never occurred to me that all this might have been done, and yet the soul of every hearer have remained in full alienation from God.¹

Likewise, on the inside cover of the notebook in which were gathered all his ostentatious pre-Christian essays and poems praising various virtues and condemning certain vices, the awakened Robert McChesney wrote: "Eum relego scripsisse pudet."²

Many of his former interests slowly dropped by the wayside, with some reluctance at first. Where he had once sought the "lighter pursuits," he gradually felt that they must now be done away. From time to time he wrote in his diary such entries as, "I hope never to play cards again;" "Never visit on a Sunday evening again;" and "Absented myself from the dance; upbraidings ill to bear. But I must try to bear the cross."³ Of the effect on his social life in general he wrote:

But sorrow gently pulled me by the sleeve,
And bade me wake and all my follies leave.

1. Thomas Chalmers, Address to the Inhabitants of the Parish of Kilmany, 4th ed., p. 41.

2. McChesney, MS. Notebook II. "When I gather together, I am ashamed to have written."

3. McChesney, diary entries, March 10, 25, and April 10, 1832, Memoir, p. 22.

She shewed how worthless all my life had been,
 How poor the joys I hitherto had seen.
 She told me that the worldling was a slave,
 That all his treasure ended in the grave.
 That beauty, honour, riches were but snares
 To catch the gaping dreamer unawares.
 That handsome limbs and pockets richly lined
 Will ne'er atone for a poor creeping mind.
 That simpering lips and complimenting smile
 May cover hateful passions all the while.
 That man was made for higher ends than laughing,
 That brutes alone could spend their days in quaffing.¹

But his attitude was not one of mere negative withdrawal.

Rather, he set about to conduct his new life positively.

In addition to his study, he began to take an active part in church life, engaging in the work of Sabbath-school.²

He progressed to such a place that a close family friend later observed: "The family is almost as usual--hardly any change except in Bob, and he is now not only grown in size to the visible eye--but I think in grace to the invisible."³

To his friends he attempted to describe the change within him, and urged them to seek the same thing. This is most noticeable in his valentine and romantic poetry. Whereas he formerly had spent his time trying to impress them with his charms, he now began to press upon them the necessity of Christ. To "Constance Inconstant" he cautioned against the dangers of seeking popularity, which, like the ephemeral butterfly, withers all too soon.⁴ A boyhood friend was

1. McCheyne, MS. poem, "Response," loc. cit.

2. Memoir, p. 20.

3. A. Macgregor in MS. letter from McCheyne family to Wm. McCheyne, April 8, 1835.

4. McCheyne, MS. "Canzonet," Feb. 14, 1832, Notebook XVIII.



reminded that his serene existence would not always be so, and was urged to "seek the only treasure."¹ And Robert's wish for Mondego Mary Macgregor, whose name was "all but foremost"² in his prayers, was:

Just so--from misfortune's soul-withering breath,
Ah would that my Mary might run
To the home that a Saviour bought by His death,
To Him who no sinner will shun.³

In most of these cases, however, his ministrations were to no avail, and he found his path leading in quite another direction from that of his friends.

This new route led Robert McCheyne next to present himself before the Presbytery of Edinburgh, to indicate his intention to enter the Divinity Hall of the University of Edinburgh. On September 28, 1831, he was found to be satisfactorily proficient, and was permitted to proceed.⁴

Several factors were instrumental in guiding McCheyne into the study for the ministry. His brother David had often spoken of this profession as the happiest and most blessed work possible, and had frequently indicated his hopes that Robert would be so inclined.⁵ Then there were Robert's own leanings and qualifications. Even before his conversion he had not been too far removed from such a

1. McCheyne, MS. "Response," loc. cit.

2. McCheyne, MS. "Imitation of Cowper on Mary Unwin, 1795," Nov. 24, 1832, Notebook XVIII. In his prayer list the name "Macgregors" is first after his relations (Notebook X).

3. McCheyne, MS. "On a Similar Occasion--Mutatis Mutandis," Nov. 24, 1835, Notebook XVIII.

4. Presbytery of Edinburgh, MS. note of approval of Robert Murray McCheyne as divinity student, Sept. 28, 1831.

5. Memoir, p. 23.

thought. He had always been fond of working with people and of public speaking and leadership, and the prospect of spending time in study was appealing. But after his conversion, he found a greater impulse: service to his new-found Master.

Outwardly, however, one of the significant factors in his choice of the ministry was his close connection with members of the clergy. Among his own relatives were three ministers: Robert Dickson, his mother's brother, of South Leith;¹ his cousin, William McCheyne, Relief minister in Kelso;² and James Roddick of Gretna. And in addition to his own ministers in Edinburgh, there were others with whom his family had been intimately and socially acquainted, and in whom he had seen the various aspects of the ministry.

He saw the minister as scholar in James Hunter³ and Thomas Gillespie who became Professors of Logic and Humanity respectively at St. Andrews. They were the son and son-in-law of Principal John Hunter, the latter succeeding him in Humanity and contributing many valuable works to the study of Latin.⁴

1. Fasti, I, p. 164.

2. James Tait, Two Centuries of Border Church Life, p. 205

3. DNB, X, p. 296; Fasti, V, p. 243.

4. DNB, VII, p. 1245; Watson, Closeburn, pp. 127 ff. David McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, Aug. 21, 1823, recorded a visit to Cults, where Gillespie, a boyhood friend of Adam McCheyne, was then minister. The close relationship of these families is seen in that whereas Gillespie married a daughter of John Hunter and named a son after the McCheynes (Fasti, V, p. 140), the McCheynes named a son after the Hunters. Mrs. McCheyne was also a cousin of James Hunter's wife. (Jane Wilson Hunter, MS. letter to Mrs. McCheyne, March 27, 1843.)

In Joseph Crichton of Ceres, James Roddick, and James Grierson of Errol, Robert saw examples of parochial ministers. Crichton, who also came from the same part of Dumfriesshire as Adam McCheyne, was happy to welcome the sons of his old friend to his manse as they journeyed northward.¹ Roddick, was a "near relative" of Robert McCheyne,² having married his cousin.³ Robert was present at Roddick's ordination, and from Ruthwell made frequent trips to Gretna where he enjoyed the manse life and his glimpses of the work of the minister.⁴ Grierson was well-known to the Dicksons in Ruthwell,⁵ and it was later to his manse at Errol that McCheyne retired on the eve of his ordination in nearby Dundee.⁶ In 1854 Grierson was elected Moderator of the Free Church General Assembly.⁷

One minister, however, especially inspired Robert McCheyne to consider the ministry. This was Henry Duncan of Ruthwell, in whom McCheyne saw the combination of scholarship, pastoral care, and evangelical zeal. Duncan was a man of a large and liberal mind, as is seen in his pioneer work in social welfare and in his intellectual and journalistic achievements. His schemes for poor relief and his efforts for the raising of the educational standards of the common

1. D. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, Aug. 21, 1823; Fasti, V, p. 112.

2. Minutes of the Presbytery of Annan, IX, March 3, 1841.

3. Fasti, II, p. 248.

4. McCheyne, MS. letter to Mother, Sept. 3, 1828.

5. McCheyne, MS. letter to Mother, Aug. 31, 1827.

6. Memoir, p. 62.

7. Fasti, VI, p. 208.

people of his parish indicate his concern for them.¹ From this sprang his most lasting monument--the system of non-charitable savings banks, which he instituted in 1810.² He also founded and edited the Dumfries and Galloway Courier, for which he enlisted the support of young Thomas Carlyle.³ His contribution to archaeological and antiquarian scholarship was typified by his restoration and comprehensive interpretation of the runic cross at Ruthwell.⁴

Like Chalmers, Duncan started his ministry before undergoing what he considered "conversion," and in his first years he had Moderate leanings.⁵ Even after his conversion, his ministry, like Chalmers', was characterized by so many of these concerns which the majority of Evangelicals regarded to be unworthy of their consideration. Yet Duncan was a close associate of the other Evangelical leaders, opposing patronage as early as 1827. He was elected Moderator of the General Assembly during the Evangelical ascendancy in 1839, and in 1843 went out with the Free Church.⁶

Robert McCheyne, "both in his interesting boyhood and fervent ministry,"⁷ was a frequent visitor to Ruthwell manse

1. George J.C. Duncan, Memoir of the Rev. Henry Duncan, p. 60; Sophy Hall, Dr. Duncan of Ruthwell, pp. 45 f.

2. John L. Dinwiddie, The Ruthwell Cross and Ruthwell Savings Bank, p. 130.

3. George Duncan, op. cit., p. 77.

4. Henry Duncan, Account of the Remarkable Monument in the Shape of a Cross Preserved in the Garden of Ruthwell Manse, 1833.

5. G. Duncan, Duncan, p. 51.

6. DNB, VI, p. 166. It is of interest to note that after the Disruption Duncan was unable to secure a site from the landed proprietors (including the Dicksons) for a new church. (Hall, op. cit., p. 150.)

7. G. Duncan, Duncan, p. 93.

where he found much enjoyment with "Uncle Henry," the "confidant and friend" of many young people.¹ For his artistic and literary interest, McCheyne found a kindred spirit in his author-sculptor elder. As a boy, he played in the manse garden with the Duncan children, and he lamented that the manse was "very empty" when they were away.² He described the informal manse gatherings: "There was singing and spouting and I don't know what all."³ The lasting impressions of these times were recounted in his "Adieu" to Ruthwell, in which he included a verse to the manse:

Farewell to its inmates so kind and so gay,
From this heart while it beats they shall never fade
away⁴

Robert grew up with most of Duncan's experiments and innovations, and came to appreciate the minister's labors in education and social welfare, as well as in religious instruction. From Duncan, he was in the position to learn much about church affairs. As a boy he was interested in the activities of the controversial Edward Irving who came from nearby Annan. Writing at the time of Irving's death, Robert noted his errors and delusions, but concluded, "I look back upon him with awe, as on the saints and martyrs of old."⁵ He also received a first-hand account of how Duncan, although a close friend of Irving, painfully carried

1. Ibid., p. 89. Among others whom Duncan influenced were James Grierson and James Ferrier, the metaphysician.

2. McCheyne, MS. letter to Mother, Aug. 31, 1827.

3. McCheyne, MS. letter to Parents, Oct. 20, 1827.

4. McCheyne, MS. "Adieu," Oct. 31, 1827, Notebook II.

5. McCheyne, diary entry, Nov. 9, 1834, Memoir, p. 37.

out the wishes of the General Assembly in his deposition.

In later life, McCheyne received encouragement from Duncan, and was able to assist him on several occasions. Under Duncan's guidance he was licensed by the Presbytery of Annan. And at Duncan's request McCheyne was called in to give counsel and assistance in a case involving James Roddick before the same presbytery.¹ Thus, in his boyhood, there arose this close and lasting friendship which largely contributed to his interest in the ministry.

Notwithstanding these outward and human agents, it was the desire of his heart to serve God that was the determinative factor in McCheyne's choice of the ministry. Growing together with his desire to rid himself of all unnecessary frivolities was the feeling that he must devote his time laboring for his Lord. He expressed this from time to time in his journal: "What right have I to steal and abuse my Master's time? 'Redeem it,' He is crying to me;" and: "Not a trait worth remembering! And yet these four-and-twenty hours must be accounted for." With this motive, McCheyne, in November, 1831, enrolled at the Divinity Hall. As he looked back over the first year there, he could say, "God has in this past year introduced me to the preparation

1. Minutes of Annan Presbytery, VIII, IX, passim. This matter, continuing for three years, concerned Roddick's alleged intemperance, violence, and arrogance; and he was placed in an asylum for a time. Duncan sympathized with Roddick and hoped to get McCheyne's father to help. His concern is seen in a letter to Robert: "Dear young friend-- I long to converse with you on a matter which has for some time deeply affected my own mind." (MS, Feb. 12, 1842).

of the ministry--I bless Him for that."¹

At the time of McCheyne's entrance, the theological faculty was particularly strong, and was attracting students from other divinity colleges as well as local ministers. The faculty consisted of three professors: Alexander Brunton, Hebrew; David Welsh, Church History; and Thomas Chalmers, Divinity. There was a mutual respect and sincere friendship among these men, although a barrier existed between the former and the latter two, created by a difference of opinion on ecclesiastical polity.²

In his Hebrew class McCheyne again met his first minister, Alexander Brunton, who was esteemed for his contributions to the field of Oriental languages. Brunton was well-versed in the life and customs of the East, and instructed his students about these as well as grammar and vocabulary. All this McCheyne found fascinating; and together with his neat and painstaking exegesis of various Old Testament books, of which he exclaimed: "New beauty in the original every time I read!"³ are found his extra-curricular notes and essays.⁴ At the completion of his course he was commended by Brunton: "He uniformly gave me the highest reason to approve of his conduct and proficiency."⁵

In succeeding years McCheyne had much the same interest

1. McCheyne, diary entries, Dec. 18, 1831, Feb. 2, 1832, Dec. 31, 1832, Memoir, pp. 24, 25, 30.

2. A. Dunlop, Memoir of David Welsh, p. 51.

3. McCheyne, diary entry, March 6, 1832, Memoir, p. 25.

4. MS. Notebook VII, passim.

5. Brunton, MS. note about McCheyne, April 4, 1832.

in Hebrew as he had in Greek, and continued to use it in his ministerial study. During one period he read and made thorough notes on upwards of twenty-five verses each day.¹ Of his ability, Bonar wrote: "He could consult the Hebrew original of the Old Testament with as much ease as most of our ministers are able to consult the Greek of the New."² His knowledge of the Hebrew language and customs came into good use both in his parish ministry--for he was fond of preaching from the Old Testament--and in the Mission of Inquiry to the Jews in Palestine and Europe.

The year 1831 was also the beginning of the professorship of David Welsh, who had been a successful and popular minister in Kirkcudbright and Glasgow, but who was more inclined for quiet study and reflection, and thus felt better qualified for teaching than for pastoral work.³ With a unique singleness of purpose, Welsh devoted himself entirely to his classroom duties, refraining from preaching as much as he could, and refusing all invitations to write.⁴ Nor was it until he saw it to be his prime duty that he began to take an active part in the affairs of the General Assembly. Once he did, however, his worth was recognized, and he was chosen the last Moderator of the Church of Scotland before the Disruption, which he, as titular head, sadly led in 1843.

1. MS. Notebook VII, passim, 1837.

2. Memoir, p. 39.

3. Dunlop, op. cit., p. 23.

4. William Wilson, "David Welsh," in Disruption Worthies, James A. Wylie (ed.), p. 493.

Welsh prepared his courses systematically. He divided the history of the church chronologically into three sections, concluding with the effect of the Reformation upon the countries of Europe. He was not so much a creative thinker as he was a faithful reproducer of historical fact.¹ Always hesitant to give his own opinions on controversial topics, he rather allowed the students to form their own.

It was for his genuine interest in his students that Welsh was most highly regarded, his home always being open to students. At one time he reviewed his own motives and objectives concerning his teaching, and drew up a list showing his weaknesses. He confessed that his lectures were too often for his own credit, rather than for the benefit of his students. In conclusion he acknowledged: "Lord, I am vile. Pardon my sin, and let not my transgression be laid to the charge of those who fail in consequence of my neglect." He then bound himself to spend one hour each Saturday in prayer for his students, to pray daily for assistance in remedying his shortcomings, and to study the scriptural passages which are especially concerned with the duties of teachers. The motive for this self-examination was summarized: "In looking at a student, ask, 'How can I do him good?'"²

Welsh's attitude as a teacher and preacher was certain to find a response in McChesney. The devotional spirit which animated Welsh was influential in moulding the new-found

1. Dunlop, op. cit., p. 53.

2. Ibid., pp. 56, 57.

spiritual life of the young student. The professor's practical suggestions found fruit in the ministries of McCheyne and his contemporaries. And Welsh's academic thoroughness and manner of presentation elevated the position of church history in the minds of his students.¹

McCheyne himself, during his ministry, profitted from the study of religious history, commenting that, as in the book of Acts, it should primarily reveal God's dealings with the souls of men. At one time he indicated his desire to write a popular history of the German Reformation.²

The predominant attraction at the Divinity Hall was Thomas Chalmers, whose prelections and personality energized generations of students. Immediately after his appointment in 1827, there was a great gravitation to Edinburgh, and his classroom was continually crowded. An extra gallery was built to accommodate the "amateurs" as well as the regular students.³ Extremely popular with his hearers, Chalmers frequently requested them to be "more active with their heads than their heels."⁴ In Chalmers, more than any other person, McCheyne found the mould for his ecclesiastical and religious thought, and a worthy pattern for his own ministerial life.

Chalmers made many alterations in the teaching of

1. Ibid., p. 55.

2. McCheyne, Letter to Alexander Somerville, Jan. 31, 1839, quoted in Smith, op. cit., pp. 34, 35.

3. Watt, op. cit., p. 83; David Couper, "Thomas Chalmers," in Disruption Worthies, James A. Wylie (ed.), p. 156.

4. William Hanna, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers, IV, p. 417.

theology, one of which was his unique class procedure, where the "conversational course" was the main feature, while his discourses were "subsidiary lectures."¹ There was much to commend this method. In the first place, the students were enabled to do research of their own. Then too, Chalmers felt that there was hardly a theological question which had not already been answered by competent scholars. Attention must be given to them, or the student--following the pitiful Edward Irving--"is apt to delude himself with the imagination that by his creative power he is giving birth to novelties."² Further, the Professor felt it to be pleonastic for him to go to the scholars merely to transcribe their ideas, which he would then convey as if they were his own, and which the students would write down with not much thought involved.

Therefore, Chalmers had his students examine such works as Butler's Analogy, Paley's Evidences of Christianity, and Hill's Lectures in Divinity. This was the starting point for the class conversations--where he and his students held a "continued parley," which resulted in the joint views of all. The students were urged to record their observations of the readings, using alternate pages, to allow for the insertion of class notes.³ This was faithfully done by McCheyne, and his analyses, together with Chalmer's remarks in the class

1. Thomas Chalmers, Prelections on Butler's Analogy, Paley's Evidences of Christianity and Hill's Lectures in Divinity, p. xviii.

2. Ibid., p. ix.

3. Ibid., p. xx.

sessions, contributed greatly to the formulation of his own ideas.¹

But Chalmers by no means shunned original and creative thinking. Theology, he stressed, was not stagnant, and he lectured upon his own thought and "novelties," especially when he considered that he had improved upon what others had done on any given topic.² In his lectures, he did not confine himself to the standard order of procedure, but rather formed his own. Instead of beginning with the divine aspects of theology, he chose to proceed chronologically through the steps of human inquiry. He began with ethics, natural theology, and the evidences of Christianity, arriving at the subject-matter of Christianity itself: the disease, and the nature and extent of the remedy.³ But in spite of his unorthodox presentation, ". . . no one," as Watt pointed out, "can deny the evidence of the immediate effectiveness of the lectures, nor the lasting impression they made on the minds of his students."⁴

Much of Chalmers' success was due to his primary concern with the student as a prospective minister. More than his teaching, it was his ability to inspire which had lasting effect upon his classes. At the same time, he did not neglect to challenge and encourage those who would become professional scholars and teachers. An example of the warm

1. D. Couper, loc. cit., p. 156.

2. Chalmers, Prelections, p. xvi.

3. Chalmers, Institutes of Theology, I, II.

4. Watt, op. cit., p. 54.

vitality which he sought to instill in his students is seen in a paragraph recorded in McCheyne's notes:

It is not by descending down into the depths of geology--it is done by bringing the Word nigh to them--by entering into the chambers of their consciences and telling them of that sin which is their ruin and that Saviour who can alone hush the alarms of nature. It is thus that the unbelieving and unlearned are convinced of all and judged of all. There must be such an evidence or we could not Christianize a population.¹

Together with the usual topics of theology, Chalmers often interspersed thoughts which were extraneous to the course. Commenting upon this tendency, Hanna said, ". . . while impairing the orderly treatment of the common heads of Divinity, this was eminently favourable to that freshness and force of impulse which it was his great distinction as a teacher to communicate."² Many of these parenthetical ideas were recorded by McCheyne in a section of his notebook titled "Miscellaneous." Here he listed the professor's observations on pastoral labors, unrelated theological thoughts, and timely controversies within the Church.

Through such a variety of topics touched upon in the classroom, and through his own personality and example, Chalmers challenged his students to be devoted and informed ministers. His biographer, while admitting that others may have had much larger stores of knowledge, and the ability to transmit that knowledge to their students with better clarity, exclaimed: "But who ever lit up the evidences and truths of

1. McCheyne, MS. notes on Chalmers' lectures on Hill's Lectures, Book I, Chapter 3, in Notebook II.

2. Hanna, op. cit., IV, p. 420.

Christianity with a light so attractive; and who ever filled the youthful breasts of those who were afterwards to occupy the pulpits of the land, with the fire of so generous and so devoted an enthusiasm!"¹ The extent of Chalmers' impact upon his students may be seen in that about nine-tenths of them joined him in the Disruption of 1843.

While McChesney had been a good student during his arts course at the University, his studies had not been all-absorbing. But after his conversion and during his theological course a greater sense of responsibility led him to devote his talents to the service of God who gave them. Bonar emphasized McChesney's unusual "continued and undecaying esteem for the advantages of study," which went hand-in-hand with his devotion to be used in God's service.² In Chalmers and Welsh he found a new world of thought and inspiration, and his respect for the rhetoric of John Wilson was soon superseded by his high esteem for his theological professors. One writer described McChesney's capabilities and the way they were moulded at the Divinity Hall:

Under such teachers it would have been difficult for a pupil of even ordinary capacity to remain inert and unaccomplished; in the case of Robert McChesney there was an ardour that not only carried him onward in the studies over which they presided, but into that life of Christian activity and practical usefulness which they were so desirous to combine with the intellectual acquirements of young students in training for the ministry.³

1. Hanna, op. cit., IV, p. 420.

2. Memoir, p. 38.

3. BDES, loc. cit.

A cooperative student, McCheyne endeavored to carry out the advice of his teachers concerning study methods and habits, and he found them to be satisfactory--both for discipline and for order. The evenings were spent in assiduously reviewing and rewriting the day's notes, and in preparing for the next day. Such thoroughness in study was recommended several years later to a young scholar as the basis for his future ministerial character: "If you acquire slovenly or sleepy habits of study now, you will never get the better of it."¹

He continued to show an interest in secular knowledge, although, like Augustine,² he felt the need of Christian truth being brought to bear upon it, and cautioned against indiscriminate use of it. Where he formerly had found all the inspiration he needed in the writings of the Greeks and in the teachings of the philosophers, after his awakening he scarcely alluded to those sources, having supplanted them with Scripture and Christian writings. His advice now was: "Beware of the atmosphere of the classics. It is pernicious indeed; and you need much of the south wind breathing over the Scriptures to counteract it. True, we ought to know them; but only as chemists handle poisons--to discover their qualities,

1. McCheyne, Letter dated 1840, Memoir, p. 33.

2. Augustine, Letter CI to Memorius. Concerning "the liberal arts" he wrote: "Far be it, therefore, for us rightly to give the name of liberal studies to the lying concerts and follies, the empty trifles and complacent misrepresentations of these unhappy men who did not recognize the grace of God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by which alone we are delivered 'from the body of this death,' even in those things which they felt to be true." James H. Baxter, St. Augustine, Select Letters, p. 191.

not to infect their blood with them."¹

McCheyne, while diligent in his formal studies, abounded in extra-curricular activity of the type advocated by Chalmers. He joined the Missionary Association, and later took a leading part in it as Secretary.² The members of this society devoted time each week to visit "the careless and needy" in the most neglected portions of Edinburgh. This was done with Chalmers' especial favor, and the group met for prayer in his vestry before setting out each Saturday morning.³ Chalmers' interest was recalled by James McCosh:

Not a few of us were sent out by him on missionary work in the Cowgate, and among the degraded districts of Edinburgh. He sent forth the great body of his students bent, when they became ministers, not merely on preaching the whole Gospel on the Sabbath, but especially on visiting among the people during the week, on looking after the non-church-going, and the outcast, and on securing, according to Christ's command, that the Gospel be "preached to every creature."⁴

This evangelistic enterprise was McCheyne's first real view of the heathenism of his own city, and he was greatly affected by it. Following his initial visit to the slums he exclaimed:

Ah! why am I such a stranger to the poor of my native town? I have passed their doors thousands of times; I have admired the huge black piles of building, with their lofty chimneys breaking the sun's rays--why have I never ventured within? How dwelleth the love of God in me? . . . What imbedded masses of human beings are huddled together, unvisited by friend or minister! . . . Why should I give

1. McCheyne, Letter dated 1840, Memoir, p. 39.

2. McCheyne, MS. letter to Wm. McCheyne, March 3, 1835.

3. Memoir, p. 34.

4. Sloane, op. cit., p. 42.

hours and days any longer to the vain world, when there is such a world of misery at my very door?¹

This resulted in his becoming one of the group's most active members, choosing to work in the area around Riddle's Entry in the Canongate,² where, with Somerville he gained the confidence of the people in an informal way and in a small Sabbath-school.³ His first visit was recorded: "Visited two families with tolerable success. God grant a blessing may go with us! Began in fear and weakness, and in much trembling. May the power be of God."⁴ Soon, however, he became accustomed to the unusual--hostility, ridicule, and depravity of all kinds.

Together with the evangelistic contributions being made by these students, they assisted in a survey prepared by Chalmers, to ascertain the state of the church's facilities and attendance all over Scotland. The results were given in a pamphlet on Church Extension, which included a table showing the ecclesiastical state of the people. In their district, McCheyne and Somerville noted that the proportion of sittings to the population was less than one in seven.⁵ Through this project, McCheyne saw with his own eyes the need for adjustment in this situation, and in his ministry

1. McCheyne, diary entry, March 3, 1834, Memoir, p. 34.

2. Not to be confused with Riddle's Close in the Lawnmarket, although this was also referred to by that name. Riddle's Entry was on the west side of New Street, number 35. (Charles Boog Watson, Notes on the Names of the Closes and Wynds of Old Edinburgh, p. 96.)

3. James C. Burns, Biographical Sketch of John Bruce, p. xlix.

4. McCheyne, diary entry, March 24, 1834, Memoir, p. 34.

5. Thomas Chalmers, The Cause of Church Extension, p. 42.

he continued to ally himself with Chalmers in the cause of Church Extension and slum evangelism.

McCheyne also showed a concern for foreign missions, reading whatever biographies and articles he could to become informed as to missionary activities and problems. He was gratified at the rising popularity of such biographies, being "not only symptoms of an increasing interest in the cause of missions, but a direct means of supplying that interest a hundred fold."¹ Further, his interest was shown as he and Alexander Somerville spent some time with Alexander Duff, the first Church of Scotland missionary, who had just returned from India and was stirring up enthusiasm for missions in his homeland. Both of these students felt disposed for service in foreign lands, and after a visit to Duff McCheyne wrote: "I am now made willing, if God shall open the way, to go to India. Here am I; send me!"² And although it was not for him to go, McCheyne maintained a zeal for missions, and was able to converse intelligently and persuasively on the subject.

McCheyne and his friends met often for study and discussion. It was his nature to share his experiences and to seek fellowship among like-minded companions, for their mutual edification. He had times of Bible study and prayer with Somerville, whose conversion took place almost at the same time as his own,³ so that their Christian growth was

1. McCheyne, MS. essay, "Swartz," op. cit.

2. McCheyne, diary entry, April 13, 1836, Memoir, p. 50.

3. Smith, op. cit., p. 10; Memoir, p. 22.

parallel and interrelated. In his first year at the Divinity Hall, McCheyne also became intimately acquainted with the brothers Horatius and Andrew Bonar, with whom he and Somerville joined for devotional and academic discussion. Not only in stated meetings, but primarily in informal association, these friends enlarged and deepened their friendship. They were fond of taking walks to the lochs and hills around Edinburgh, talking together of future plans and current problems on the way, and at their destination testing the strength of their voices and joining in short periods of singing and prayer.¹

During the summer intervals, some of these friends who had remained in Edinburgh met to study theology and the Scriptures in the original languages.² Here they discussed the results of their private study, as it had been stimulated in the classroom during the preceding session. On several of the topics, especially prophecy, there were widespread differences which occasionally caused several members to absent themselves. Their points of view, together with Chalmers' interest in their deliberations, was described by Somerville's biographer:

. . . millenarian theories were discussed, chiefly under Andrew Bonar's influence. McCheyne looked with interest on these, but did not commit himself to adopting them fully. Somerville denounced such speculations as "dangerous," but always with shrewd humour . . . The point was referred to the great Divinity Professor, who took up McCheyne's position.

1. Smith, op. cit., pp. 15, 167.

2. Memoir, p. 39.

He had not so fully studied these views as his young friends, but he saw no danger in holding them.¹

During the theological sessions, a larger group, which received the name "Exegetical Society," was formed as the result of Chalmers' recommendation. This was to be select in point of membership, "since," he said, "none but the very elite of the Hall for taste and skill in the languages should be admitted into it."² Meeting at six-thirty every Saturday morning, this group was bound to be somewhat selective. Its prime concern was the "critical study of sacred Scripture."³ There were eighteen members, whom W. Robertson Nicoll described as "remarkable, not only for evangelistic fervor, but for their devotion to theological scholarship."⁴ Meeting in Muir's vestry at St. Stephen's, the Society was highly organized, with each member taking his turn reading an essay one

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 18. A. A. Bonar, Sheaves After Harvest, p. 44, stated that Chalmers adopted these views, quoting him as saying to Welsh: "I tell you, Dr. Welsh, the millennium will come in with a hammer smash."

2. Chalmers, Prolegomena, p. xxxiii.

3. MS. Essays of the Exegetical Society, I.

4. W. Robertson Nicoll, Princes of the Church, p. 16. Of the members of this Society, all but one (excepting McCheyne) became ministers of the Free Church, six becoming Moderators; William Wilson, 1866; Sir Henry Moncrieff, 1869; Andrew A. Bonar, 1878; William Laughton, 1881; Horatius Bonar, 1883; and Somerville, 1886. Further distinctions, aside from Somerville and the Bonars: Thomas Brown was author of Annals of the Disruption, Wilson was the biographer of R. S. Candlish, George Smeaton was Professor of Theology at Aberdeen and Edinburgh, and Moncrieff was Clerk of the Free Church. (Memoir, 1913 ed., pp. 177ff.) S. Maxwell Coder, in a recent re-publication of McCheyne's Remains (Memoirs of McCheyne, p. xiii), includes Edward Irving in this group. This was perhaps due to the influence of his views on Andrew Bonar and some others. However, Irving was much older than these students, and was, in fact, already deposed before this group gained momentum.

week and presiding the next. All the proceedings were recorded and bound together with the contributions.

Although he did not join this group until half-way through his divinity course,¹ McCheyne served as secretary on occasion and contributed seven essays in which he treated Hebrew poetry and prophecy and critically analyzed Old and New Testament passages, making abundant use of Hebrew and Greek, together with secondary theological sources. His over-all conclusion was that of the canonical authority of his texts, the purity of doctrine taught therein, and the reconciliation of seeming contradictions.² Together with his regular courses, these groups proved to be valuable to McCheyne, and helped to form a basis for his theological thought.

McCheyne took an interest in the deliberations of the Church judicatories during his course at the Divinity Hall, attending the General Assembly at the beginning of the "Ten Years' Conflict" and the Evangelical ascendency. He noted the proceedings of certain cases together with the results of the voting,³ e.g., concerning the narrow defeat of the Chapel Act in 1833, he wrote: "Every shock of the ram is heavier and stronger till all shall give way."⁴ He also sat in on meetings of the Presbytery and Synod, where he

1. MS. Minutes of Exegetical Society, I, May 18, 1833. Smellie (p. 41) inaccurately stated that McCheyne "started" this society.

2. MS. Essays of the Exegetical Society, II, III, IV, passim.

3. McCheyne, MS. notes on the General Assembly, 1832.

4. McCheyne, diary entry, May 20, 1833, Memoir, p. 32.

again made observations.¹

McCheyne was fortunate to be a student in Edinburgh at a time when outstanding preachers were numerous. The death of Andrew Thomson in 1831 brought to a close a stormy and powerful ministry, the success of which was indicated by the deep grief which pervaded the entire town. Thomas Chalmers, who succeeded Thomson as the driving force of the Evangelicals, was at the height of his pulpit power. Edward Irving was still heard on occasion in Edinburgh, where he preached to overflowing audiences. And in William Muir the McCheyne family had an able and successful preacher. But after Robert's entrance into the Divinity Hall, he occasionally sat under John Bruce, diminutive minister of the New North Church.

While others were capable of greater oratory and intellectual power, Bruce had unique success as a preacher, drawing great numbers which included many "highly intellectual men who otherwise stood in no friendly relation to the Christian church." His sermons were read in a harsh voice and in a strong Forfar accent. His style was said to have been complicated, his gestures extravagant. Yet his boldness and authority were sufficient to thrill his hearers. George Gilfillan, United Secession minister and eminent literary critic, described Bruce: ". . . in short, he was a man of genius."² Bruce's worth in the eyes of the people

1. McCheyne, MS. notes of Synod, 1834, Notebook VII.
 2. Quoted in James C. Burns, op. cit., p. xlv.

was shown in his nomination by the reformed Edinburgh Town Council in 1836 to fill the vacancy at St. Andrew's Church, a fashionable stronghold of Moderatism, which soon found that he was a man of discretion even though on the opposing side.¹

Describing Bruce's ability to draw "the highest type of men," MacGregor cited McCheyne as a typical example, being "peculiarly high in respect of spirituality and earnestness," and a man "of great intellectual power."² McCheyne systematically took notes of many of Bruce's sermons, utilizing the Sunday evenings to transcribe and meditate upon them. At times he recorded his own thoughts as they were stimulated by the sermon outline.³ His sister stated: "He regarded Mr. Bruce with warmest love and reverence, prizing every word that fell from his lips."⁴

McCheyne and Somerville also came into contact with Bruce through their visitation work in the Canongate, where Bruce had begun a parochial mission. As the result of their ministry, many were converted, including the one who became the "minister's man" to Bruce.⁵ This association with Bruce

1. Ibid., p. liv.

2. MacGregor, op. cit., p. 83.

3. McCheyne, MS. Notebook VII, 1834. This Sunday evening practice was later given up "for the sake of a more practical, meditative, resting, sabbatical evening." (Memoir, p. 29.)

4. Burns, op. cit., p. xlv. It is of interest to note how Bruce's biographers drew attention to his ability as a preacher by identifying him with McCheyne.

5. Burns, op. cit., p. xlix. These two collaborated successfully on later occasions as well. J. Blackie, John Blackie, the Bridgeton Colporteur, p. 7, tells of Blackie's conversion which resulted from hearing McCheyne at Paisley and then Somerville at Glasgow.

continued as McCheyne finished his training and entered the ministry, and Bruce's regard for the younger man is seen in his invitations to McCheyne to supply his pulpit.¹

Another minister whose friendship McCheyne made at this time, and maintained throughout his life, was Alexander Moody (later Moody Stuart). Leaving his first pastorate on Lindisfarne, Moody came in 1835 to St. George's parish, where he was commissioned to organize a new territorial congregation, which met first in an unused Unitarian church in Young Street. He soon gathered a sizeable congregation, among whom, in addition to many students, was Sir John Sinclair, the elderly editor of the Statistical Account. Eventually a new building was erected on the site of the Unitarian chapel, and was called St. Luke's.²

On hearing Moody, who was four years his senior, McCheyne was quoted as saying, "I have found the man." This feeling was reciprocated as Moody later wrote: "It was to me a golden day when I first became acquainted with a young man so full of Christ."³ They met in Moody's house for an hour of prayer each week. Later McCheyne introduced the Bonars and Somerville,⁴ thus forming the nucleus of what has been termed "the McCheyne group."⁵ Throughout his ministry McCheyne had many occasions to renew this friendship--at

1. McCheyne, MS. letter to Parents, Dec. 14, 1835.

2. Kenneth Moody Stuart, Alexander Moody Stuart, p. 54.

3. Ibid., p. 55.

4. Harjorie Bonar, Reminiscences of A. A. Bonar, pp. x, xi.

5. Philip, op. cit., p. 273.

communion seasons, in their interest in Jewish missions, and in their labors for "non-intrusion." Even after Robert's death his family's association was continued, as Adam McCheyne joined his minister at the Disruption and became one of the charter members of Free St. Luke's.

In this period, 1831-1835, Robert McCheyne devoted an unusual amount of thought to the fact that his youth was being left behind and manhood was to be faced. One of the many examples of this is seen at the end of a cheerful poem written in 1830 where he, several years later, added a melancholy coda, including:

And the liveliest tones of the harp are¹ dead,
For the wild romance of youth is fled.

However, his actions throughout his student life and ministry were consistent only with maturity. And while there naturally remained the closest bonds with his home, his pastoral activities were all entered into with the confidence and calmness of a man who was prepared for, and felt called to, the Christian ministry.

In the Spring of 1835, McCheyne appeared before the Presbytery of Edinburgh to be examined for his license to preach. He recorded his fears and his confidence concerning this:

Tomorrow I undergo my trials before Presbytery.
May God give me courage in the hour of need. What
should I fear? If God see meet to put me into the
ministry, who shall keep me back? If I be not meet,
why should I be thrust forward?²

1. McCheyne, MS. Sequel to "To a Mountain Daisy," "Written without request," May, 1832, Notebook XVIII.

2. McCheyne, diary entry, Feb. 15, 1835, Memoir, p. 37.

Both his apprehensions and his hopes were realized, for in stating to his brother that he had been thus far successful, he commented upon the ministers' thorough examination--"all heckling me like so many terriers on a rat." He was also required to preach before his professors, and was especially fearful about having Chalmers hear him: "I would like better to preach to the world than to critics."¹

In the course of McCheyne's preparation for these trials, his mother was concerned about his diligence, and asked assistance from his brother:

But if he ruins his constitution by too close studying, it will deprive him of ever being useful to his fellow creatures, or a comfort to his parents. Do write him a lecture, you that are a medical person and his very dear and only brother, whose advice he will strictly adhere to.

But the study was rewarded, and although she disclosed that they had heard nothing from Robert himself, she reported: ". . . we have heard that Dr. Chalmers was highly pleased, and all the other ministers."²

Before his public trials were completed, several ministers invited McCheyne to assist them. Particularly attractive was the offer of John Bonar, minister of Larbert and Dunipace, whose assistant, William Hanna, had just been called elsewhere. This was considered to be a favorable opening for a young probationer, and Robert was advised by his friends to accept it.³ But since it appeared that it

1. McCheyne, MS. letter to Wm. McCheyne, March 3, 1835.

2. L. M. McCheyne, MS. letter to Wm. McCheyne, April 8, 1835.

3. A. McCheyne, MS. letter to Bonar, op. cit.

might be a year before his license would be obtained from Edinburgh Presbytery, he applied to Annan Presbytery to complete his trials sooner.¹

Just two years before this Annan Presbytery had been involved in the widely publicized deposition of Edward Irving.² At that time the Presbytery (which Irving's friend Carlyle insisted was a "poor aggregate of reverend sticks in black gown . . ."³), proceeding under instruction from the General Assembly, examined "heretical tracts" of which Irving admitted to have been the author. These tracts, it was felt, treated the humanity of Christ in such a way as to cast doubt upon His sinlessness. Irving was horrified at this interpretation, and insisted that he adhered strictly to the Church's standards. He remained unrepentant, condemned the Assembly, and renounced the Presbytery's jurisdiction over him.⁴ The deposition was read by McChoyne's kinsman, James Roddick, the Moderator, whom Carlyle called "one of the stupidest and barrenest of living mortals . . ."⁵ Henry Duncan alone was regarded by critics as the redeeming influence in this matter, although it was with great sorrow that he felt constrained to concur with the decision.⁶

It was this Presbytery, to which McChoyne was not a stranger, that completed his examination. Satisfied with

1. McChoyne, MS. letter to Wm. McChoyne, March 3, 1835.

2. Minutes of the Presbytery of Annan, March 13, 1833.

3. Andrew Drummond, Edward Irving and His Circle, p. 220.

4. Minutes of the Presbytery of Annan, Nov. 9, 1832, March, 1833.

5. Drummond, op. cit., p. 218.

6. Ibid.; Hall, Duncan, p. 91.

his reason for transfer, it proceeded to the public trials which had been prescribed by Edinburgh Presbytery. On the appointed day, McCheyne submitted the five linguistic and homiletical assignments--each of which was quite long.¹

In his deliveries, McCheyne evinced a calm confidence in the face of what would appear to have been an artificial and critical audience. Seeming to forget that this was a body of his elders met in august session, he gave a straightforward indication of the tone of his future preaching:

Ah! If that majestic figure--as He stand by the way-side, pointing first to his wounded side and then to the narrow gate which leadeth to life--does not attract your wondering and admiring eye, and make you turn in thither from the turmoil and the crowd and the senseless laugh that belong to the broad way--to see the greatest of all sights--a suffering yet almighty Saviour . . . there is positively not one other arresting bar between you and perdition.²

Critically examining a text from Paul, and commenting upon the righteousness of Christ in regard to conversion, McCheyne exulted: "Oh what unspeakable comfort is there to troubled consciences--to those who have felt the burden of guilt . . . " He then continued, paraphrasing Philip's exhortation to the Ethiopian eunuch:

A perfect immaculate righteousness--freely offered as the fresh air of heaven--to the very chief of sinners. Here is blood; what doth hinder thee to be sprinkled from an evil conscience. If thou believest with all thy heart, thou mayest.³

1. Minutes of the Presbytery of Annan, VIII, pp. 190-192, July 1, 1835: Hebrew translation and analysis (Psalm 109), Lecture (Matthew 11:1-15), Homily (Matthew 7:13,14), Exercise and Addition (Romans 3:27, 28), and Popular Sermon (Romans 5:11).

2. McCheyne, MS. Homily, Matt. 7:13,14.

3. McCheyne, MS. Exercise and Addition, Rom. 3:27,28.

Having acquitted himself satisfactorily, McCheyne signed the Confession of Faith, and producing evidence that he had taken the oath to the government, he was duly licensed "to preach the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ as a probationer for the holy ministry."¹

In his book on Scottish probationers, James Brown described the state into which McCheyne now entered. He was allowed to preach, but not to dispense the sacraments, in an office which was only transitional and preparatory.² Yet McCheyne was thrilled at this, as he had already stated to his brother: "If I live, you see, I may soon be a preacher of the Gospel--an honour to which I cannot name an equal under the sun."³ His first sermon, preached in Ruthwell on the following Sunday, elicited this remark in his diary: "Found it a more awfully solemn thing than I had imagined to announce Christ authoritatively; yet a glorious privilege."⁴ And soon after, he wrote: "It came across me in the pulpit, that if spared to be a minister, I might enjoy sweet flashes of communion with God in that situation. The mind is entirely wrought up to speak of God."⁵

On November 7, 1835, Robert McCheyne entered into the assistantship under John Bonar in Larbert and Dunipace.⁶ In the course of his ministry, Bonar acquired the reputation of

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1. Minutes of the Presbytery of Annan, July 1, 1835.
 2. James Brown, The Life of a Scottish Probationer, p. 80.
 3. McCheyne, MS. letter to Wm. McCheyne, March 3, 1835.
 4. McCheyne, diary entry, July 5, 1835, Memoir, p. 43.
 5. McCheyne, diary entry, July 12, 1835, Memoir, p. 43.
 6. Fasti, IV, p. 312.

being a good instructor to his assistants, many of whom became outstanding in the Free Church. Before William Hanna, McChayne's immediate predecessor and the son-in-law and biographer of Thomas Chalmers, there was James Lumsden who became the first Principal of the Free Church College, Aberdeen.¹ McChayne's successor was his close friend, Alexander Somerville, followed by William Arnot, who was successful as a preacher in Glasgow and the Free High Church, Edinburgh. Bonar himself "went out" at the Disruption, and became Convener of the Free Church Colonial Committee.²

Under an agreement made in 1617, the parishes of Larbert and Dunipace were united quoad sacra. Each parish was to have its own school, session, and poor maintenance, while the ministerial labors were to be divided equally between the two. But near the end of the eighteenth century, the incumbent confined his activities to Larbert, allowing the religious state of Dunipace to fall into desuetude, and for thirty-five years there had been no dispensation of the Lord's Supper. Consequently, many of the people were joining the dissenting groups.³

After his installation, Bonar resumed the services in Dunipace, preaching there every third week. However, this practice was soon discovered to be inadequate. For what had once been a quiet agricultural district, had suddenly become

1. J. M. McBain, Eminent Arbroathians, p. 334; Pastor, V, p. 431.

2. Thomas Brown, Annals of the Disruption, p. 571.

3. NSA, VIII, p. 587.

a thriving industrial center. This was due to the construction, in 1759, of the Carron ironworks, which marked the commencement of the Industrial Revolution in Scotland.¹ Laborers were brought in from the industrial towns of England to operate the mines, mills, railway, and harbor. The result was that this was for a long time the largest industrial plant in Scotland, smelting over 8,000 tons of pig iron each year, and boasting among its finished products the "carronades" of Nelson and Wellington.²

Thus, what had been a community of four hundred inhabitants in 1790, was crowding to more than four thousand in 1831, and six thousand in 1835. Where there were only ninety men listed as farmers, there were more than two thousand industrial workers. Most of this industrialization was confined to Larbert, however, while Dunipace retained its agricultural character.

With the new industry and influx of population, problems arose which were not to be found when the area had been wholly agrarian. The people became more prosperous, and had more time to spend money in the abundant "tippling houses," causing injury to the morality of the community. There was a general carelessness about cleanliness, and a coarseness in language and manners. Religion, though gaining among the people, was largely treated with indifference.³

1. Trevelyan, op. cit., p. 461.

2. John Gibson, The Lands and Lairds of Larbert and Dunipace Parishes, p. 198.

3. NSA, op. cit., pp. 364 ff.

Bonar discovered the inadvisability of trying to serve both parishes by himself. So after the erection of a new church in Dunipace in 1834, it was agreed that he be given an assistant. This enabled services to be held regularly each week, and led to increased attendance, especially in the new church, whose membership soon swelled from a few individuals to several hundreds. In Larbert, however, there was the unique problem of many of the men refusing to expose themselves to the cold churches after having spent the week over hot fires.¹

McCheyne, who was eager to be put to work, threw himself into his labors in this vibrant environment with enthusiasm. He liked to recall that this was where Master Robert Bruce had ministered, and he prayed that the blessings of his labors would be similar.² He was quite aware of his own youthfulness, and wrote to his mother, "I find it necessary to keep up my dignity as far as outward show will do it. Among so many stirring men I feel so young."³ Yet he found that his youth was advantageous, since it was often necessary to walk twelve miles a Sunday, in addition to conducting the services in the various preaching stations.⁴

McCheyne was highly pleased with John Bonar as his superior, and referred to him affectionately as "my good bishop."⁵ Ho

1. *Ibid.*, p. 376.

2. *Memoir*, p. 44.

3. McCheyne, MS letter to Mother, Dec. 14, 1835.

4. McCheyne, MS letter to Family, Nov. 16, 1835.

5. McCheyne, MS letter to Mother, Dec. 18, 1835.

felt that Bonar was somewhat reserved, but was gratified that "he is opening up every day,"¹ and in this companionship he received wise counsel and instruction regarding the work of the ministry. But his prime source of admiration was in Bonar's untiring pastoral work. He was responsible for more than seven hundred families in the combined parishes, and endeavored to see to all of their needs. Eliza McChayne, during a visit to her brother, re-echoed his views about Bonar: "He seems a very active pushing man--very peculiar, very zealous--quite wrapped up in himself and his parish."² Her basis for this observation was that Bonar had just returned from visiting in twenty-eight homes that day.

Such zeal for extended effort was passed on to the young assistant, who, at this time enjoyed the work of visitation more than any other aspect of ministerial life.³ The combined efforts of the two ministers was such that McChayne stated: "There is not a Carroner's wife takes a pain in her head or foot but she has a minister at her door weekly till she gets well."⁴

In his general visitation, McChayne was amused at the practice in which the elder "warns them the day before, so that their houses and bairns are all as clean and shining as pennies new from the mint."⁵ But in spite of the clean and neat surroundings, he observed that "the hearts and faces

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1. McChayne, MS. letter to Family, Nov. 16, 1835.
 2. Eliza McChayne, MS. letter to Parents, Jan. 27, 1836.
 3. McChayne, MS. letter to Mother, May 2, 1836.
 4. McChayne, MS. letter to Mother, April 21, 1836.
 5. Ibid.

are the same" as those he had met with in the Canongate.¹

Commenting upon the people of Kinnairds, which was his chief pastoral district, he wrote at the beginning of his work:

"The people are savages for ignorance--but very amenable to kindness as all savages are."² Yet, he regarded them as "my sweet colliers."³

The indifference and ignorance that McCheyne encountered, together with an insight into his own feelings and methods, were graphically described after an affecting interview:

One old woman I came to was the most melancholy monument I ever saw. She is so deaf that she says hardly anybody can make her hear. She is so blind that she cannot read. And she is so old that she will very soon die. I suspected that she made herself more deaf than she was in reality and therefore tried to make her hear. She knew that Jesus had shed His blood. But when I asked her why? she said that "really her memory was so bad she did not know, but her husband used to be a grand man at the bulks." Is it not strange that God does not leave far more of us who hear the Word and care not for it, who have eyes and ears and use them not in giving heed to the things that belong to our peace--just as melancholy monuments of grace rejected, living sermons to the world around.⁴

McCheyne often appraised his own demeanor during his visits, and analyzed his efforts to "improve" on the conversations by turning them into spiritual discussions. His mental agility was frequently extended, and he tried to use different methods of approach for the various types of people.

1. McCheyne, MS. letter to Father, Nov. 9, 1835. There were also visits which were quite different: one farmer was described as "a model for a rural Christian." (MS. letter to Father, Dec. 14, 1835.)

2. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, Nov. 16, 1835.

3. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, Dec. 14, 1835.

4. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, June 30, 1836.

But in spite of the fact that he "tried many avenues," he sometimes admitted that he "could not reach their mind," criticizing himself for his obscurity and lack of forcefulness: "Not simple enough--and yet may some words be carried home," and "spoke plain but not with power." At the completion of each community's visitation, he summarized his impressions and indicated the spirit in which he had done the work, e.g., "Thus have I come to the end of Carronshore. Lord, bless the words of feebleness and make them words of power. Work Thou--and Thine be the praise."¹

In addition to the usual illnesses and diseases in Larbert, there were quite a few industrial injuries, which caused temporary spiritual concern. But McChayne found that the anxieties and fears of most vanished as health was regained. Yet not all were to recover, as death claimed one third of McChayne's sick. His diligence in visiting them is seen in that most died within only a day of his last call. So many deaths in so short a time aroused a deeper sense of urgency in his ministry.

In view of all his pastoral duties, McChayne began to appreciate something of the immensity of the task set before him, and expressed the wish that "the church commissioners would make a trial of a day's visiting and see how they cast a burden of so many souls on one set of shoulders."² This experience, along with his student evangelization in the

1. McChayne, MS. Notebook X, passim.

2. McChayne, MS. letter to Family, Dec. 14, 1835.

Canongate under Chalmers, contributed to the formation of his thought in accord with the new strides which were being made in Church Extension.

In the five preaching stations around Larbert, McChoyne found ample opportunity for pulpit experience. It was normal for him to preach three times on Sunday, and several times during the week in Bible classes and special meetings. Once again he profitted from his observation of John Bonar, whom he described as preaching "with great effect and plain common sense power . . ."¹ Yet he felt that Bonar preached extraordinarily long sermons, often exceeding an hour and a half. McChoyne sensed the impropriety of such length, since the people obviously did not appreciate it, and "by dint of pruning" he managed to reduce his own messages to less than thirty-five minutes, causing "universal satisfaction." Nevertheless, he considered this to be a weakness: "It is a bad sign of the people; but in their low religious state I believe it is better to please them."²

McChoyne's sermons at this time, while favorably received, were not widely acclaimed. They were well prepared, and centered around the basic doctrines of the Christian faith--God's love, justification by faith, sin, and Christian living--which he felt it to be necessary for his industrial and agricultural audiences to know and believe. He spoke plainly and directly to them:

1. McChoyne, MS. letter to Father, Nov. 9, 1835.

2. McChoyne, MS. letter to Father, Nov. 23, 1835.

Mark it well then, every unpardoned sinner now before me. There is no way by which thou mayest ever come to look on this just God in peace--to see Him as angels do-- and to adore as saints do--than by coming now to the freely offered blood of sprinkling and taking now the peace of the justified.¹

McCheyne started classes for young people, which he found to be successful. His aim was to "entertain them to the utmost, and at the same time to win their souls."² And through his own youthfulness, imagination, and musical and artistic abilities, he was able to attract about sixty people, the boys generally outnumbering the girls. His enthusiasm for these classes shone through his letters to his family: "This is famous. I gather all sorts of interesting scraps to illustrate the Catechism--and try to entice them on--to know and to love the Lord Jesus."³ Something of his method and outlook is seen in a letter to a boy who had left home in search of employment:

I do not know in what light you look upon me, whether as a grave and morose minister, or as one who might be a companion and friend; but, really, it is so short a while since I was like you, when I enjoyed the games which you now enjoy, and read the books which you now read, that I can never think of myself as anything more than a boy. That is one great reason why I write to you. The same youthful blood flows in my veins that flows in yours--the same fancies and buoyant passions dance in my bosom as in yours--so that when I would persuade you to come with me to the same Saviour, and to walk the rest of your life "led by the Spirit of God," I am not persuading you to anything beyond your years. I am not like a grey-headed grandfather--then you might answer all I say by telling me that you are a boy. No; I am almost as

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1. McCheyne, MS sermon, Romans 5:11, June 12, 1836.
 2. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, June 30, 1836.
 3. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, June 13, 1836.

much a boy as you are; as fond of happiness and of life as you are; as fond of scampering over the hills, and seeing all that is to be seen, as you are.¹

During this time of assistantship, McCheyne got his first taste of how his health would stand up in the ministry. He had come to Larbert in a weak state,² and even when feeling well, he was often abnormally exhausted on Mondays. At the end of 1835, he retired to Edinburgh for a month with consumption. He was greatly discomfited by this inactivity, and sadly hinted to his minister that it might be best to find another to take his place. When he did return, at first able only partially to perform his duties, he was fearful that the people "may get up the hue and cry that I do nothing but enjoy myself with my friends on the fat of the land."³

But he discovered that even though he was unable to carry on his pastoral work, there was another avenue of service which was opened up to him. He came to appreciate the duty which was his to pray, not for himself only (for he indicated his readiness "to step into the vail at once if I feel at all unwell"⁴), but for others. He expressed this to John Bonar: "I feel distinctly that the whole of my labour during this season of sickness and pain, should be in the way of prayer and intercession."⁵

While at Larbert, McCheyne began to attract the

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1. McCheyne, Letter, Aug. 8, 1836, Memoir, p. 56.
 2. Memoir, p. 43.
 3. McCheyne, MS. letter to Mother, Feb. 1836.
 4. McCheyne, MS. letter to Father, Jan. 25, 1836.
 5. McCheyne, Letter to John Bonar, Memoir, p. 47.

attention of certain of the leaders of the Church. In addition to Bruce, Welsh, and Chalmers (whose warmth and friendship he described as "quite moving"¹), the most outstanding was Robert Smith Candlish, minister of St. George's, Edinburgh, who was assuming more and more responsibility in church affairs, and was ascending to the height of his pulpit power. McCheyne's introduction was probably through Moody, and it resulted in close contact and mutual respect as the years progressed. During his later visits to Edinburgh, McCheyne was a frequent caller at Candlish's home, and was entrusted with many of Candlish's thoughts and observations on Church affairs.² Candlish also showed a great interest in the 1839 awakening and McCheyne's part in it, and through him McCheyne was appointed to serve on various deputations and missions. But already at this time--before McCheyne's ordination--Candlish invited him to preach at St. George's,³ and to contribute articles to the Scottish Christian Herald,⁴ both of which honors thrilled, and yet humbled the young probationer. And Candlish--together with Chalmers and Welsh--played an important part in the next major step which McCheyne was to take.

In the spring of 1836, McCheyne was invited by the elders and managers of the newly formed St. Peter's Church

1. McCheyne, MS. letter to Father, Dec. 14, 1835.

2. William Arnot, The Life of James Hamilton, p. 237. Candlish frequently urged McCheyne to "Let me have an afternoon of you when in town." (MS. letter to McCheyne, Feb. 5, 1840).

3. McCheyne, MS. letter to Parents, June 13, 1836.

4. McCheyne, MS. letter to Father, March 9, 1836.

Dundee, to preach there as a candidate. This church was the first effort in Dundee to combat the dearth of seating accommodation, although the need had been felt for some time.

Since 1780 the population had almost doubled (most significantly after 1821), so that by 1835 it stood at 51,000.¹ But in spite of this increase, the number of Established churches had remained constant at seven, with three Chapels of Ease, which had been built long before. The combined seating accommodation totaled 11,000, to which the Dissenting churches could only add 7,000. It was estimated that there were at least 9,000 people living in total neglect of religious ordinances.

In the face of this situation, John Roxburgh, the minister of St. John's, and his kirk-session in 1835 published a circular calling for subscriptions for "erecting a chapel in the northwest end of Hawkhill: the building to be plain and substantial, so as to secure at once quantity and cheapness of accommodation."² The site chosen was in St. John's parish, which was feeling the pressure of increased population, and was farthest removed from existing churches. The church was erected on the Perth Road, and was in a quoad sacra parish, by virtue of the Chapel Act of 1834, which gave presbyterial status to ministers of chapels, and provided for them to have kirk-sessions. St. Peter's constitution was approved by the Assembly of 1836, and the kirk-session

1. NSA, XI, p. 19, James Rollo, Dundee Historical Fragments, p. 47.

2. History of St. Peter's Free Church, Dundee, pp. 3, 4.

was appointed from the parent church--all of whom became members of St. Peter's.

The choice of the first minister was entrusted to Roxburgh and the kirk-session of St. John's, who wisely deferred to the votes of the subscribers and male communicants of the new church, after requesting a list of six suitable men from Chalmers, Welsh and Candlish.¹ It was agreed that the chosen man be a "pious, active, and efficient preacher."² The recommendations were: Andrew Bonar, Thomas Dymock, James Gibson, McCheyne, Alexander Somerville, and White. Candlish particularly favored McCheyne, contacting his father to make the most opportune preaching arrangements. Concerning this, McCheyne commented: "Any date he chooses will do for me--whether first or last I believe makes little difference." He referred also to the selection of Bonar and Somerville: ". . . my two greatest intimates being made my rivals. I have no doubt we will contend with all humility in honour preferring one another. If the people have any sense, they will choose Andrew Bonar . . ." As for his own preference: "If I were to choose the scene of my labours, I would wish to be away from a town--as riding and country air seem almost essential to my existence." But he expressed his willingness to go if chosen.³

1. Dundee, Perth, and Cupar Advertiser, Aug. 12, 1836, which championed the Dissenting cause, considered this a form of patronage, in which the congregation's choice was only a pretense.

2. John Muir, St. Peter's Church, Dundee: 1836-1936, p. 9.

3. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, June 30, 1836.

All the candidates were heard in St. Peter's, and a meeting was held in August for the purpose of reducing the leet. However, there was so decided a preference for McCheyne that a motion was made to dispense with any further hearings.¹ This was carried by a large majority, and the minority agreed to make it unanimous.² The man they wanted was described as:

Not the man of controversy, but the man of prayer--not a loiterer, but a labourer in the vineyard--one who will be found more frequently in the chambers of the sick and the afflicted than amidst the gaieties of the drawing-room, and whose steps will be oftener directed to the habitation of the poor than to the mansions of the rich. Such a one would indeed prove a blessing to us and to our children, and to the district to which he is connected.³

The stipend was to be 150 pounds yearly, to be increased as the debt was lowered. Actually, it was never less than 200 pounds.⁴

McCheyne preached his final sermons to full churches in Larbert and Dunipace. He described his farewell to his parents, and appraised his work at Larbert:

I preached my farewell sermon at Dunipace last Sabbath day . . . I never saw the church so full before . . . It is very sad to leave them now and to leave them thus. What multitudes of houses I have never entered. So many I have only stood once on their hearthstone--and prayed. In some few I have found my way so far into their affections--but not so far as to lead them to Jesus. My classes are a little more anxious and awakened

1. Dundee Courier, Aug. 16, 1836.

2. Muir, op. cit., p. 10. All this happened so harmoniously that the Advertiser vehemently objected to the proceedings, crying: "Ye sons of Loyola, hide your heads!" (Sept. 2, 1836).

3. Advertiser, Aug. 19, 1836.

4. Muir, op. cit., p. 8.

than they were--especially some of the young women; but permanent fruit--none is visible. Yet I leave them just as the farmer leaves the seed he has sown. It is not the farmer that can make it grow-- he can only pray and wait for the . . . latter rain.¹

His interest in the parishes continued throughout the remainder of his life. He was eager that his like-minded friend Alexander Somerville should succeed him, so that his efforts might be continued. He maintained his concern for many of the sick, often referring to them by name in his correspondence. He also returned on many occasions to assist John Bonar during communion seasons.

Throughout the eleven months that he was in Larbert, McCheyne acquired much that prepared him for the years to come. His own pastoral responsibilities and physical weakness awakened him to greater assiduity and discipline. Bonar's effect upon his life was extensive and cannot be minimized, as McCheyne's father stated:

I have no doubt whatever that his example had a most powerful influence in the formation of Robert's ministerial character if not in the style of his preaching. Indefatigable activity and perseverance appear to me to be perhaps the most striking characteristics of both.²

And Bonar highly recommended McCheyne, mentioning his talents, piety, modesty, and his uniting "in a very rare degree accurate knowledge with fine and sensitive feeling . . . " He referred to the love of the people for McCheyne, and concluded that any parish would be privileged to have him as minister.³ With this preparation, McCheyne now turned to Dundee.

1. McCheyne, MS letter to Family, Sept., 1836.

2. A. McCheyne, MS. letter to Bonar, *op. cit.*

3. John Bonar, MS. recommendation, April 6, 1836.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DISCIPLE IN PERSONAL DEVOTION

(1832-1843)

I feel persuaded that if I could follow the Lord more fully myself, my ministry would be used to make a deeper impression than it has yet done.

--May 22, 1842

THE DISCIPLE IN PERSONAL DEVOTION

On November 24, 1836, Robert McCheyne was ordained and inducted to the charge of St. Peter's in a service conducted by John Roxburgh. The following Sunday morning the new minister was formally introduced to his people by John Bonar, and he preached his first official sermon in the afternoon. His text was Isaiah 61:1-3, which he used in succeeding years to commemorate the anniversary of this day.

McCheyne's ministerial career was successful and effective only insofar as it reflected his own personal relationship to God. A contemporary wrote that "his preaching was a continuation of his prayers."¹ Even before his ordination, McCheyne had had decided feelings about the spiritual qualifications of ministers. It was most essential that their lives be strong and vital, and it was necessary "to be in Christ before being in the ministry."² "With him," said Bonar, "the commencement of all labour invariably consisted in the preparation of his own soul."³ And, as his life was dedicated to Christ, and in the process of continual preparation, he

1. Presbyterian Review, July, 1844, p. 220.

2. Memoir, p. 41.

3. Ibid., p. 44.

was ready to begin his ministry.

McCheyne endeavored always to maintain a deep and consistent fellowship with God. Alexander Moody recalled that he had once stated: "I cannot begin my work, for I have not yet seen the face of my God."¹ And in a devotional article, McCheyne indirectly described his own earnestness in this:

With intensest anxiety did this believing soul now wait for the Lord. Those only who have experienced the dawning of the Sun of Righteousness on their soul can know what it is to "wait for the Lord more than they that watch for the morning." More anxiously than the sick man upon his bed, "full of tossings to and fro," longs for the first gleam of morning light coming in at the window; more anxiously than the weary Levite, keeping watch upon the temple wall, turned his eye toward the east, to see if the day began to break over Mount Olivet; more anxiously far did the believing soul wait for fuller discoveries of the fair face of Immanuel, and for a richer experience of the power of Jesus to purge the conscience and purify the heart.²

It is primarily through this "peculiar spiritual temperament"³ that McCheyne has become renowned throughout the world, his name usually being prefixed by such expressions as "heavenly-minded" and "saintly,"⁴ and included with such men of "saintly influence" as Samuel Rutherford, Richard Baxter, John Welsh, and Robert Leighton.⁵

McCheyne's inclination in this direction was singular, for his physical environment had been one which would ordinarily have caused little concern or discontent--a comfortable

1. K. Moody-Stuart, op. cit., p. 221.

2. McCheyne, The Christian's Daily Companion, H. Paterson, (ed.), p. 261.

3. Adam Philip, The Devotional Literature of Scotland, p. 66.

4. Cf. Robert Buchanan, The Ten Years' Conflict, I, p. 382.

5. William G. Blaikie, The Preachers of Scotland, p. 88.

home, a good education, and a feeling of self-satisfaction. In contrast to others, such as Augustine, his unconverted life appeared outwardly to have been extremely moral and without cause for remorse, so that he later wrote: "I fancy few boys were ever happier in an unconverted state than I was. No sorrow clouded my brow--no tears filled my eyes, unless over some nice story-book . . ."¹

But after his awakening, the love and righteousness of Christ was impressed upon him, and he was made strikingly aware of his deplorable state. Throughout his devotional experience he was amazed at the thought that "Christ held down His head for shame on account of my sin so that I may hold up my head in peace on account of His righteousness."² In a manner quite resembling Rutherford, he described how this affected him:

Once I saw no form nor comeliness in Jesus, no beauty that I should desire Him. But He came skipping like a roe or a young hart, leaping on the mountains, skipping on the hills. He stood behind our wall; He looked in at the window, showing Himself through the lattice. He showed me His hands and His feet pierced for sinners. He showed me that there was room beneath His shining righteousness. He showed me His heart, the same yesterday, today, and forever; and now I cannot but say, He is to me beautiful and glorious, excellent and comely. If there were ten thousand other ways of pardon, I would pass them all by, and flee to Him.³

The more he meditated upon "The loveliness of Christ",⁴

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1. McChesney, Letter, August 8, 1835, Memoir, p. 58.
 2. McChesney, Christian's Daily Companion, p. 293.
 3. Ibid., p. 276.
 4. Ibid., p. 292.

however, the more unworthy and sinful he felt. James S. Stewart has written that it is in proportion as a soul draws close to God that it more vividly realizes its own personal unworthiness: "It is the chief of saints who know best that they are the chief of sinners."¹ McCheyne lamented his unconverted years: "Many thoughts on the follies of my youth. How many, O Lord, may they be? Summed up in one--ungodliness!"² He repeatedly stressed: "Truly there was nothing in me that should have induced Him to choose me."³ But he indicated his worthlessness even more in regard to his Christian life. Through constant introspection he became sensitive to his guiltiness and his need for deliverance from it, advocating: "Let your sense of sin grow."⁴ Time and again, as he was confronted with this, he judged himself in such terms: "A sinful wretch," "a vile worm--a beast--before God."⁵ A frequent type of confession was: "Much broken under a sense of exceeding wickedness, which no eye can see but thine."⁶ From all of this he craved deliverance by any means that God might employ, however drastic:

If nothing else will do to sever me from my sins, Lord send me such sore and trying calamities as shall awake me from earthly slumbers. It must always be best to be alive to thee, whatever be the quickening instrument. I tremble as I write,

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1. James S. Stewart, The Strong Name, p. 64.
 2. McCheyne, diary entry, Feb. 16, 1833, Memoir, p. 30.
 3. McCheyne, diary entry, June 22, 1832, Memoir, p. 27.
 4. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Numbers 10:29, July, 1838.
 5. McCheyne, Christian's Daily Companion, pp. 278, 279.
 6. McCheyne, diary entry, June 2, 1837, Memoir, p. 66.

for oh! on every hand do I see likely occasions for sore afflictions.¹

The pride and self-esteem of school and college days were particularly being pruned away. Where humility had previously been to him another virtue for the taking-- the "ornament immortal," which "a lofty name in this world will procure thee"²--now it was something of the utmost importance: ". . . that self-emptying abasement with which it is necessary to come to Christ . . ."³ No longer did he intend to play at this, but he prayed for "true unfeigned humility! I know I have cause to be humble; and yet I do not know the half of that cause. I know I am proud; and yet I do not know the half of that pride."⁴ Yet with all his natural gifts and abilities, McCheyne found this to be his "thorn in the flesh," as he wrote during an illness: "The lust of praise is my besetting sin; and what more befitting school could be found for me than that of suffering alone, away from the eye and ear of man."⁵

In his ministerial duties McCheyne found the greatest need for watchfulness. He admitted that it was easy for him to "speak for my own honour," both in public and private conversation. On one occasion he recorded that during his sermon he had many thoughts of pride, self-admiration, and love of praise, "stealing the heart out

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1. McCheyne, diary entry, Nov 21, 1834, Memoir, p. 37.
 2. McCheyne, MS, "Humility," 1830, Notebook II.
 3. McCheyne, diary entry, July 22, 1832, Memoir, p. 29.
 4. McCheyne, diary entry, Sept. 9, 1832, Memoir, p. 29.
 5. McCheyne, letter to John Bonar, Memoir, p. 47.

of the service."¹ And he sadly recounted the fact that it was his pride which caused him to miss "some fine opportunities of speaking a word for Christ." In commenting upon this, he wrote, "I see a man cannot be a faithful minister . . . until he gives up striving to attract people to himself, and seeks only to attract them to Christ."² Time and again he referred to this basic cause of his unfaithfulness, with the prayer that the realization of it and his deliverance from it might keep him in the proper attitude of humiliation, for "Then Satan, thou wilt be outwitted."³

Together with this humility, which, his friends acknowledged was very deep, McChesney also displayed a tremendous assurance that he belonged to Christ. Confidence was considered to have been the mainspring of his whole life, in that, being intellectually convinced of the things the mind can grasp, and guided by the Spirit concerning the things beyond reason, he merely surrendered to them "with the simplicity of a little child."⁴ Therefore he could write, for himself, "How sure my sinful soul is of glory;" and for others: "Dear believer, whose feet have been set upon the rock, it is not possible that you can be deceived as to your eternal salvation."⁵ In this confidence he found the strength for and the acceptance of his Christian duties, which resulted

1. McChesney, diary entry, June 19, 1836, Memoir, p. 53.

2. McChesney, diary entry, July 8, 1836, Memoir, p. 54.

3. McChesney, diary entry, July 17, 1836, Memoir, p. 54.

4. James Hamilton, "The Late Rev. Robert Murray McChesney," in The Witness, April 5, 1843.

5. McChesney, Christian's Daily Companion, pp. 284, 267.

in a composure and a calmness in the face of critical or trying circumstances.

As he was made aware of his own sinfulness in the light of the holiness and loveliness of Christ, McCheyne then applied himself at all times to the various aspects of devotion. His motives for this were several. In the first place, he saw it to be his duty as a Christian to "be sober and watch unto prayer," with a clear and undimmed eye. Since his heart was given to Christ, there should be nothing else to engross it.¹ And as he had been so long a servant of sin, so now he ought to give his body and soul, his time and his heart in the service of God.² Moreover, he was in no sense his own any longer, but God's: "There never was a possession so completely belonging to anyone as a redeemed soul belongs to God. We are his by creation . . . by preservation . . . by election . . . by redemption . . . by the indwelling Spirit . . . Accordingly, we are peculiar to God." Having seen this, he asked:

O my soul, dost thou know anything of this? Canst thou say, "I am my beloved's and His desire is towards me?" Is it the chief desire of my heart to glorify God by fleeing from all sin? When the world comes and says, Come with us, stolen waters are sweet; my soul replies, Sinful world, I am not yours, I am the Lord's. When Satan says, Come with me; thou shalt not surely die; my soul cries out, Get thee behind me, Satan; I am not yours. I was once yours, but now I am bought with a price. I am Christ's. When my own wicked heart says, Come and taste a little worldly pleasure, my new heart replies, Old man, I am not thine--I am not my own,

1. Ibid., p. 257.

2. McCheyne, MS. class notes, Dec. 9, 1841, Notebook VII.

I am bought with a price--therefore will I glorify God in my body and my spirit, which are His.¹

But McCheyne was motivated by more than mere duty to one whose servant he was; there was also love to Christ and desire to be like Him. Concerning the Christian's love he wrote: "Surely they have but cold love to Jesus that do not burn with desire to see the fair brow that was crowned with thorns."² Since the reason for God's love in Christ is to make men holy, he urged, "Study universal holiness of life. Your whole usefulness depends on this . . . Cast yourself at the feet of Christ; implore His Spirit to make you a holy man."³

Together with his love for God, which drew him into this fellowship, McCheyne regarded daily communion with God to be essential as a safeguard against sin, and the basis for effective Christian activity. In order to be a faithful witness, the believer must be adequately prepared and disciplined by prayer and meditation.⁴

McCheyne was thorough and consistent in devotional exercises. Although he set aside times for special prayer and meditation, his friends acknowledged that the key to his prosperity "lay in the daily enlargement of his heart in fellowship with his God."⁵ He described the need "to begin the day by looking to the slain lamb--then we go to

1. McCheyne, Christian's Daily Companion, p. 263.

2. Ibid., p. 256.

3. McCheyne, MS sermon, II Timothy 4:1,2. Dec 1840.

4. McCheyne, diary entry, Sept. 2, 1832, Memoir, p. 29.

5. Memoir, p. 44.

work with a clean conscience--then at night to go back to the same lamb--we need new forgiveness--that we may go forgiven to bed. This is a life of faith."¹ Andrew Bonar speaking of the Deputation to Palestine, remarked: "I was often reproved by his unabated attention to personal holiness; for this care was never absent from his mind, whether he was home in his quiet chamber, or on the sea, or in the desert."²

That McCheyne's devotional procedure was rigorous and thoroughgoing is seen in his daily schedule.³ The early morning hours were devoted to his private prayer. He was known to have been sparing in his sleep, so as to awake early--not, as in his younger days, merely to greet the dawn--but to "seek God, and find Him whom my soul loveth. For who would not rise early to meet such company?"⁴ On weekdays he arose at six-thirty and spent the next two hours in private prayer and meditation, devoting an hour entirely to the Jews. From half past eight to ten were breakfast and family prayers, which were then followed by the day's activities. His Sunday schedule was even more intense, as he felt the need of rest and devotion for himself. Planning to be in his study by six-thirty and retiring at eleven, he set aside seven different periods totaling six hours for prayer and devotional reading. Added to this

1. McCheyne, Interleaved Bible, Numbers 28:3,4.

2. Memoir, p. 103.

3. McCheyne, MS. Notebook X, p. 478.

4. McCheyne, diary entry, Feb. 23, 1834, Memoir, p. 33.

were two hours for family worship and servant instruction, two and a half hours for final preparation for the services of the day, and at least four hours spent in "the House of Prayer." This typified a sense of devotion that impressed even his closest friends, as Andrew Bonar wrote in 1833: "O what I wonder at in Robert McCheyne more than all else is his simple feeling of desire to show God's grace, and to feed upon it himself."¹

As soon as he arose, it was McCheyne's daily custom to sing a psalm or a hymn of praise for God's love and mercy.² His musical proficiency helped him in this respect, and he recommended it to his people: "It is a duty to learn hymns and psalms that you may be able to repeat them and sing them over in secret . . . Do you observe this?"³ His own fondness for hymns is seen in his writings for The Christian's Daily Companion, where, in twenty-eight articles, he quoted twenty-nine excerpts from such poets as Toplady, Cowper, Hart, Robinson, and Newton.

Following his praise, McCheyne turned to the devotional reading of the Scriptures, of which he said: "I love the Word of God, and find it sweetest nourishment to my soul."⁴ Bonar referred to his "insatiable appetite" for the Word.⁵ It was McCheyne's plan to study three chapters a day, and to review these on Sunday. Moreover, in 1837, he divided the Bible in

1. Andrew A. Bonar, Diary and Letters, p. 77.

2. McCheyne, Interleaved Bible, Psalm 92:2.

3. McCheyne, MS. class notes on Catechism, Notebook VII.

4. McCheyne, MS. letter to Horatius Bonar, Oct. 13, 1842.

5. Memoir, p. 100.

such a way as to read it in one month, covering almost fifty chapters a day.¹ In 1842, he devised a yearly calendar for his people--reading the Old Testament once, and the New Testament and Psalms twice.² With these schemes (which he realized were in danger of degenerating into formality, self-righteousness, and carelessness) the whole would be read, and nothing would be passed by due to difficulty. He advised reading the various parts of Scripture at the same time in order to be fully enlightened.³ The extent to which he read and studied the sacred writings can be seen in his own compositions, where the most obscure texts were skillfully intermingled in order to get his point across.

In reading the Scriptures, McCheyne particularly delighted in applying the message to his own condition, as is seen in his notes on Psalm 22:

May my eyes be opened to see wonders out of this Psalm. 1. May I see the infinite compassion of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit--in giving up a Divine Person--to be a worm. 2. May I see the infinite vileness of sinners--that such sufferings needed to be borne--how much my sin must be. 3. May I see what faith is in darkness--my God, my God-- 4. May I see how free Christ is . . . 5. May I see the awful nature of the sin of unbelief . . .⁴

And when such reading was omitted he asked: What plant can be unwatered, and not wither?"⁵

Next followed prayer. Ever since his conversion,

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1. McCheyne, MS. Notebook III.
 2. McCheyne, "Daily Bread," Memoir, pp. 567 ff.
 3. McCheyne, MS. letter to Mrs. Thain, Oct. 25, 1839.
 4. McCheyne, Interleaved Bible, Psalm 22.
 5. McCheyne, Diary entry, Feb. 11, 1833, Memoir, p. 30.

McCheyne had felt the necessity of this, but it was through his frequent illnesses that he grasped the full significance and efficacy of prayer. Speaking from his own experience, he cautioned a friend: "If you do not pray, God will probably lay you aside from your ministry, as He did me, to teach you to pray."¹

He scrutinized the quality of his prayer, noting times of ineffectuality, such as: "Mind quite unfitted for devotion. Prayerless prayer"; and "My prayers are scarcely to be called prayer."² Nor was it to be a formal, empty ritual, as he impressed upon his people: "Do you make it a secret prayer--not praying that others may see you or hear you? Do you choose your best times--not when you are tired and sleepy, but your freshest time? Do you pray from the heart--not repeating by rote?"³ He also abhorred the striving for beautiful expressions, rather preferring the genuine and sincere cry from the heart, and emphasizing that the essential factor in prayer was faith: "Learn that urgency in prayer does not so much consist in vehement pleading as in vehement believing."⁴

McCheyne's prayers were characterized as being "specific and yet reverential,"⁵ and he consciously tried always to include all the parts of prayer. He began with confession

1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, II Timothy 4:1,2, Op. cit.

2. McCheyne, Diary entries, Dec 11, 1832, July 8, 1836, Memoir, pp. 29, 54.

3. McCheyne, MS. class notes on Catechism, Notebook VII.

4. McCheyne, MS. sermon, John 11:1-4, Feb., 1842.

5. James Hamilton, loc. cit.

of sin, which was to be a thorough recounting of the day's-- and at times, the entire life's--activities, one by one. He outlined his procedure: confession of the sins of youth, sins before and after conversion, against light and knowledge, against each Person of the Godhead. His sins must be examined in the light of the Holy Law, of God's countenance, of the cross, of the judgment seat, of hell, of eternity. Further, he sought to examine even his dreams; floating thoughts; predilections; actions; habits of thought, feeling, and speech; and the reproofs and banterings of his friends--in order to unearth all traces of prevailing sin. And even the imperfections, sinful aims, and self-righteousness of his confessions themselves needed to be confessed.

Having admitted frequent instances of pride, selfishness, lack of trust, coldness, and even of "worldly conversation," he then sought to "go to Christ for the forgiveness of each sin." Just as every spot was washed in bathing, so each blemish in his soul must be as carefully attended to. "I ought," he said, "to see the stripe that was made on the back of Jesus by each of my sins."¹

He noted the need for more time in adoration and thanksgiving. There must be no rushing into God's presence heedlessly, without the remembrance of His awful name and character. The giving of thanks was a basic necessity and commandment to be followed.

1. McChesney, MS. "Personal Reformation," Notebook VIII, also in Memoir, p. 159.

McCheyno was diligent in specific intercessory prayer, insisting: "If you love them, surely you will pray for their souls."¹ He intended to take his best times for this activity--Saturday mornings and evenings, and after breakfast on weekdays. A notebook used about 1840 contains one of his complete and intricate prayer lists: relations, friends, people ("careless, anxious, brought to peace, Christians"), classes, Sabbath Schools, sick and dying, ministers, missionaries--each heading being followed by many pertinent names.² He devoted much time to missions, often with a map spread out before him.³ His seriousness in regard to intercession was shown as he wrote to Candlish: "Do not sin against God by ceasing to pray for us and for our flocks."⁴

McCheyno realized that the individual would petition for himself in the course of his sincere prayer for others, and that there was no need to dwell upon the mechanics of such. But it is evident that he did not feel that the Christian ought to neglect himself, for his writings are full of petitions for deliverance and assistance. To learn the mechanics of prayer, he advocated "praying through the Bible"--spreading it out before him, and praying, "O Lord, give me the blessedness of the ran, etc." This, he said, "is the best way of knowing the meaning of the Bible, and of learning

1. McCheyne, Letter, Aug. 8, 1835, Memoir, p. 59.

2. McCheyne, MS. Notebook X, pp. 482-485. With this was a list of "arguments to be used with God in prayer." H. Bonar, Life of John Milne, p. 219 n., quotes another list.

3. McCheyne, MS. "Reformation," loc. cit.

4. McCheyne, MS. letter to Candlish, Sept. 26, 1839.

to pray."¹ His own prayers, both in public and in private, were full of the language of Scripture.²

Such praise, reading, and prayer constituted McCheyne's devotional activities. While he did not think that each period should necessarily have all these elements, it was essential that no day should pass without some time being devoted to each of them.

To broaden his own experience, McCheyne often read from devotional literature. After reading of Henry Martyn and Legh Richmond, he next turned to David Brainerd, of whom he wrote: "Most wonderful man! What conflicts, what depressions, strength, advancement, victories, within thy torn bosom! I cannot express what I think when I think of thee."³ There was, in fact, much about the missionary to the American Indians which McCheyne found to be true in his own life. His temperament was not at all like Brainerd's, who was exceedingly melancholy. But his reaction to God in his life was the same, and there is great similarity in thought and expression. Brainerd's feeling of "unspeakable sweetness and delight in God"⁴ and his deservings of hell was also McCheyne's familiarity. Both were emphatic about the importance of fasting, frequent solitary prayer and meditation, and self-examination. But most remarkable is the almost identical language used in describing their physical and spiritual experiences, e. g.,

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1. McCheyne, Letter, Aug. 8, 1835, Memoir, p. 59.
 2. McCheyne, Family Worship, James Gibson (ed.), pp. 288-293.
 3. McCheyne, diary entry, June 27, 1832, Memoir, p. 28.
 4. Jonathan Edwards, The Life of David Brainerd, p. 87.

bodily weakness,¹ sense of unworthiness,² and scrutiny of past lives. One of the many examples of this is seen in their birthday reviews. Brainerd: "This day I am twenty-four years of age. O how much have I received the year past! . . . And how poorly have I answered the vows I made . . ." ³ McChoyne: "This day I attained my twenty-first year. O how long and how worthlessly I have lived, Thou only knowest!" ⁴

Two reasons may be given for this similarity. First, that there was this characteristic in the life of Brainerd that thrilled the new convert, so that he sought to copy it for himself. In fact, McChoyne once wrote: "O for Brainerd's humility and sin loathing dispositions." ⁵ However, the witness of McChoyne's acquaintances, as well as his spiritual successes, indicate that his life was genuine and not merely imitated. Second, there may have been enough similarity in the temperaments and experiences of the two which caused them to respond to God's acts in the same way. Yet it is to be wondered how the usually effervescent and buoyant McChoyne would have responded with such approximation to the gloomy and melancholy Brainerd. Perhaps, in reality, these two possibilities combined, so that McChoyne discovered in Brainerd that deep devotion which his own heart was eager to feel, and in Brainerd's expressions he found that to which he could sincerely say "Amen." ⁶

1. Ibid., p. 112; McChoyne, diary entry, March 1, 1835, Memoir, p. 37.

2. Edwards, op. cit., p. 118; McChoyne, diary entry, May 7, 1832, Memoir, p. 27.

3. Edwards, op. cit., p. 99.

4. McChoyne, diary entry, May 21, 1834, Memoir, p. 35.

5. McChoyne, diary entry, June 27, 1832, Memoir, p. 28.

6. Oddly enough, whatever similarity there was, was completed at their deaths, which occurred in their twenty-ninth year.

A little later McCheyne read Private Thoughts on Religion by Thomas Adam. Written entirely in the first person, this book was devoted to meditations about God, Christ, the Scriptures, confession, depravity, etc., all stated in an adoring and humble style, with much introspection.¹ Upon completion of this book, McCheyne confessed: "Ah me! What mountains of pride must I be wandering, when all I do is tinctured with the very sins this man so deploras; yet where are my wailings, where my tears, over my love of praise."² He also wrote two stanzas about this book, in which he referred to the importance of trusting only in "Christ's power to save," in order to have security and peace.³

Although nearly two hundred years old, Richard Baxter's widely-read Call to the Unconverted and Saints' Everlasting Rest gave much assurance and guidance to McCheyne.⁴ In these logical presentations, Baxter attempted to explode any argument that might be raised against the necessity of coming to Christ (characteristically concluding: "What do you now resolve? Will ye turn or die?"⁵), and to delineate the motives and helps to a "heavenly life."⁶ In these arguments McCheyne saw his faith substantiated and clarified; seeing what he had renounced, and for what he was striving. The former reading

1. Thomas Adam, Private Thoughts on Religion, passim.

2. McCheyne, diary entry, Sept. 8, 1832, Memoir, p. 32.

3. McCheyne, MS. "According to your faith be it unto you," Sept. 20, 1833, Notebook XVIII.

4. McCheyne, MS. letter to Mother, March 2, 1836.

5. Richard Baxter, A Call to the Unconverted to Turn and Live, p. 130.

6. Richard Baxter, The Saints' Everlasting Rest, pp. 241 ff., 303 ff.

was also marked with a verse in which he expressed his desire to be used as was Baxter, who "From the grave still issues forth his Call."¹

One of the books most frequently read by McChesno was Samuel Rutherford's Letters, penned by a man who was completely overwhelmed by the love of God.² "How humbling it is," McChesno stated, "to read Rutherford."³ And McChesno's own writings manifested a similar devotion, being described by James Hamilton as re-echoing the "adoring contemplations which naturally gathered round them the imagery and language of the Song of Solomon."⁴ The picture of the Bride and her Beloved and the loveliness of Jesus became a part of McChesno, and he referred to "the sweetest words that human lips ever uttered: 'My beloved is mine.'"⁵

McChesno also read from Jonathan Edwards, after which he thought: "How feeble does my spark of Christianity appear beside such a sun! But even his was a borrowed light, and the same source is still open to enlighten me."⁶ Edwards' personal writings concerning surrender and holiness often found their way into McChesno's sermons and writings.

In the Life of John Eliot, missionary to the American Indians, McChesno was confronted by one "who lived in heaven while he was on earth."⁷ In his notes of this reading, he

1. McChesno, MS. "On Baxter's Call to the Unconverted," Oct., 1834, Notebook XVIII.

2. Samuel Rutherford, Letters, Andrew Bonar (ed.), Letter LXI, p. 226.

3. McChesno, MS. sermon, Isaiah 30:25,26, June, 1840.

4. Hamilton, loc. cit.

5. McChesno, Christian's Daily Companion, p. 262.

6. McChesno, diary entry, March 20, 1832, Memoir, p. 26.

7. Cotton Mather, The Life and Death of John Eliot, p. 18.

recorded Eliot's willingness to go into the backwoods, and his successes both among the Indians and the settlers, taking especial notice that Eliot's "outward appearance and kindling eloquence were helps to him"--which was also true in his own case.¹

Robert Leighton's Life recalled one of whom it was said: "Practical holiness was what he laboured, under divine grace, to realize in his own life, and what he so much wished to see in that of others."² McCheyne concurred with the Archbishop that prayer ought not only to be the morning and evening practice of the Christian, but also his support in all daily labors.³

The sublime poetry of the Night Thoughts of Edward Young struck McCheyne with beautiful expressions of the love and sacrifice of Christ, of death and immortality, and of the necessity of redeeming the time.⁴ John Newton's hymns and letters of comfort and instruction encouraged McCheyne in his quest for spiritual discernment.⁵ Many of the succinct statements of John Flavel were recorded by McCheyne for his spiritual profit.⁶ In addition, books on practical subjects, such as The Christian Ministry, by Charles Bridges, were also read

1. McCheyne, MS. notes, "John Eliot," Notebook I, pp. 3, 4.

2. Thomas Murray, The Life of Robert Leighton, p. 90.

3. McCheyne, MS. "Gems from the Life of Leighton," Notebook I, p. 49.

4. McCheyne, MS. notes, "Young's Night Thoughts," ibid. p. 27.

5. McCheyne, diary entry, April 9, 1837, Memoir, p. 66; Christian's Daily Companion, p. 276.

6. McCheyne, MS. "Gems from John Flavel," Notebook I, p. 37.

with a devotional outlook. In these he looked not only for hints and ideas concerning ministerial employment, but also for inspiration, as he said: "Would it not be right always to read something on the ministry to stir up the gift that is in me."¹

There is no way of stating unequivocally how much these authors and lives influenced McCheyne. There is a great deal of parallelism and similarity between his experience and those about which he read. There was much in his life that corresponded to the classical expressions of Christian devotion. Nevertheless, there was much originality and individuality, so that his experience was neither that of Erainerd, nor Rutherford, but his own. No doubt exists, however, of his high esteem for these men "who have written themselves ineffaceably on the imagination of the aspiring,"² to whose names his own was shortly to be added.

Although much of McCheyne's theological thought was in harmony with these works, he did not turn to them primarily because they were "orthodox." It is true that most of these were the books which Evangelicals were reading at that time.³ But McCheyne's concern especially in his private religion, was not in theology but in spiritual depth. Therefore, his primary interest was to discern how these men abounded in love for God, and how they strove for that intimacy with Him

1. McCheyne, MS. "Rules Worth Remembering," Aug. 24, 1838, Notebook X, p. 29.

2. Philip, Devotional Literature, p. 65.

3. Chalmers, Preflections, passim.

for which he was seeking. Many of these works were comparatively recent; quite a few were a hundred or more years old. But in contrast to Edward Irving, who said: "Rejected by the living, I conversed with the dead,"¹ thereby artificially absorbing the patterns of thought and expression of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, McCheyne, whose theological reading was as up-to-date as any of the time, turned to these works for the purpose of enlarging his own spiritual life. What else he may have acquired was secondary, although it was genuinely and unaffectedly assimilated.

In addition to his daily appointments for private devotions, McCheyne was known to have taken every possible opportunity for fellowship with God. He often retired to quiet places in the country for times of prayer and meditation. The chapel ruins at nearby Invergowrie was a frequent scene for this. And many times, on his way to appointments in other towns, he stopped alongside the road, e.g., "Rode to Collessie and Kirkcaldy. Sweet time alone in Collessie woods."²

Special occasions were set aside periodically for fasting, prayer, and self-examination. This was quite common among Evangelicals of the period such as Charles Simeon and William Wilberforce in England,³ and Chalmers and others in Scotland. McCheyne's first recorded fast was within a few days of his

1. Drummond, op. cit., p. 30.

2. McCheyne, diary entry, April 22, 1839, Memoir, p. 135.

3. G. W. E. Russell, Short History of the Evangelical Movement, pp. 68, 69.

reading of Brainard, whose journal recorded many such times. At first his fasts were only partial and seem to have been on extraordinary days, e. g., the anniversaries of his brother's birth and death. Later, however, they came to extend throughout the entire day, and took place on ordinary days. Near the end of his life he purposed to have a set day once a month for confession and fasting. Because he continued this practice even in times of illness, he caused anxiety among his friends.¹ During his fasts, he confessed the sins of Adam's race, the country, the Church, ministers, Christians, non-Christians, as well as personal sin ("every member of our body"), concluding: "Pardon our iniquity, for it is great."²

Often during these times--as well as on other special occasions--McCheyne sat down to examine and review his life. As has been the case with many devoted Christians, he was quite introspective, and at all times tried to discern his weaknesses and "coldness." He was not willing to gloss over the past and its sins but rather sought always to remember his own depravity and that from which he had been saved: "O! it is good for me to look unto the rock whence I was hewn, and to the hole of the pit whence I was digged."³ Together with this, he regarded it to be essential to consider whither he was bound: "I ought to meditate often on heaven as a world of holiness--where all are holy . . . so that, without

1. Robert MacDonald, MS. letter to McCheyne, Dec. 17, 1839.

2. McCheyne, MS. "Confession for a Day of Fasting," Notebook X, p. 92. This page, being brown and worn, shows much use.

3. McCheyne, Christian's Daily Companion, p. 263.

personal holiness, I never can be there."¹ His motives and intentions regarding the Christian life often came under his scrutiny, as the following preparation for a Sabbath:

1. Does my heart really close with the offer of salvation by Jesus? Is it my choice to be saved in the way which gives Him all the praise and no none? Do I not only see it to be the Bible way of salvation, but does it cordially approve itself to my heart as delightful? Lord, search me and try me, for I cannot but answer, "Yes, yes." 2. Is it the desire of my heart to be made altogether holy? Is there any sin I wish to retain? Is sin a grief to me, the sudden risings and overcomings thereof especially? Lord, Thou knowest all things--Thou knowest that I hate all sin, and desire to be made altogether like Thee. It is the sweetest word in the Bible--"Sin shall not have dominion over you." O then, that I might lie low in the dust--the lower the better--that Jesus' righteousness and Jesus' strength alone be admired.²

Yet he cautioned: "For every look at yourself, take ten looks at Christ."³ And again, "Some of you are poring over your own heart--examine your feelings--watching your disease. Avert the eye from all within. Behold Me--Behold Me! Christ cries."⁴

McCheyne advocated a humbling in the face of sin, in such a way that gives the impression of doubt as to his forgiveness: "How often, when guilt is on my conscience, I doubt whether He be entirely willing to be the Mediator between God and such a sinful wretch as me."⁵ But his advice to others was also for his own encouragement: ". . . do not

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1. McCheyne, "Personal Reformation," loc. cit.
 2. McCheyne, diary entry, June 11, 1835, Memoir, p. 51.
 3. K. Moody-Stuart, op. cit., p. 140.
 4. McCheyne, MS. sermon, John 17:24, Jan., 1849.
 5. McCheyne, Christian's Daily Companion, p. 279.

despair . . . Believe in the Comforter. Keep your eye fixed on Christ . . . He alone can make you holy; and He will do it, for faithful is He that promised."¹

Birthdays, anniversaries, communion seasons, and funerals were the usual times for McCheyne's special introspective review. At the end of his first year of licensure he recounted: "One year I have preached Jesus have I? or myself? I have often preached myself also, but Jesus I have preached."² In preparation for the Lord's Supper--the first in which he was really aware of its significance--he severely condemned himself for living without God so long, for his sentimental religion, for his refraining from sin solely because of public pressure, and for his little esteem for the Bible and the Sabbath--his judgment being: "What a mass of corruption I have been!"³ On his twenty-third birthday he prayed:

Though I am a child in knowledge of my Bible and Thee, yet use me for what a child can do, or a child can suffer. How few sufferings I have had in the year that is past, except in my own body . . . Give me strength for a suffering, and for a dying hour!⁴

Toward the end of his life, he made a thorough inventory of his condition, and, using the strongest language, set down a list of things which needed reformation.⁵ It began:

I am persuaded that I shall attain the highest amount of present happiness, I shall do most for God's glory, and the good of man, and I shall have

1. Ibid., p. 272.

2. McCheyne, diary entry, July 5, 1836, Memoir, p. 54.

3. McCheyne, diary entry, May 6, 1832, Memoir, p. 27.

4. McCheyne, diary entry, May 21, 1835, Memoir, p. 51.

5. McCheyne, "Personal Reformation," loc. cit.

the fullest reward in Eternity, by maintaining a conscience always washed in Christ's blood, by being filled with the Holy Spirit at all times, and by attaining the most entire likeness to Christ in mind, will, and heart, that is possible for a redeemed sinner to attain in this world.

His examination extended also to the review of his ministry in Larbert and in Dundee. On one occasion he made a journal of "my people and the success or otherwise of my ministry." He noted that there had been many results at the outset in St. Peter's, and that certain sermons had impressed various people. "These were glad days," he concluded, "when one and another were awakened. But now it appears to me there is much falling off; few seem awakened--few weep as they used to."¹

The outstanding themes of McCheyne's devotions, in addition to the loveliness of Christ, and his own unworthiness, were: his trust and confidence in God's love, his love for God in return, joy in the Christian life, the necessity of bearing fruit in a holy life, and his desire to be with Christ. McCheyne rested completely in God's ability to control his life. Even if the righteousness and justice of God had condemned rebellious man immediately to hell, "we should rejoice in His sovereignty, and say that all was rightly done."² It was God who had sought him and found him in the first place--when he would rather have escaped--and who had made him all that he was: "One thing I know, I am in the hands of my Father in

1. McCheyne, diary entry, March 28, 1838, Memoir, p. 89.
 2. McCheyne, diary entry, July 22, 1832, Memoir, p. 29.

heaven, who is all love to me, not for what I am in myself, but for the beauty He sees in Immanuel."¹ In this confidence, he once wrote to his father, concluding that God who controlled the elements and the universe could certainly bring peace between two opposing factions. But if this were not His will, "then war and confusion are best."² There was, however, one stipulation: "Everything depends upon our being reconciled to God . . . "³ Only then would all things work together for good. If he were to stand out against God and His will, then He would treat him as an enemy--"yea He will curse our very blessings." Thus, afflictions and uncertainties, rather than being instruments of doubt, were to McCheyne occasions of coming near to God, and he was invariably satisfied that God had proved Himself.

McCheyne's love for God, which he had shown at the very outset of his Christian life, found further expression as he read Rutherford, Brainerd, Newton and Martyn. That he reposed upon God's love with as much confidence as upon the love of earthly dear ones, was attested by Hamilton, who described his response as "absorbing love to the Lord Jesus. This was his ruling passion. It lightened all his labours . . . "⁴ This love tended in the direction of selfless devotion, as

1. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, May 5, 1839.

2. McCheyne, MS. letter to Father, Aug. 19, 1836.

3. McCheyne, MS. letter to Mother, Feb., 1836. In this case McCheyne was referring to his missing brother, William, and indicated that even his safe arrival from India could be used by God to their detriment, unless they were willing to confide in His will.

4. Hamilton, loc. cit.

McCheyne desired that his be the reflection of Christ's love: "O that I might abide in the bosom of Him who washed Judas' feet . . . and grieved over him--that I might catch the infection of His love, of His tenderness, so wonderful, so unfathomable."¹

In contrast to many of his devotional heroes, McCheyne's life was pervaded with contentment and happiness. The love which he experienced from God, and which he returned to God, was satisfying; and even though he saw nothing but vileness within himself, his new position in Christ must only bring joy. To those who said it was dangerous to be happy, and better to "be in deep exercises," he answered in the light of Christ's work: "How can you do otherwise than rejoice and be comforted?"² To his parents he wrote:

. . . let us be glad in all that God gives us so richly to enjoy--and use all for Him. If we are His children--washed in the blood of His Son--led by His Holy Spirit--living a life of prayer and reading of the Word--and growing in likeness and nearness to Him--then we are happy now--and shall be happier far, when this world, with its scenes of loneliness and sin has passed away.³

Admitting that there might be something in the temperament of an individual to minimize his cheerfulness, McCheyne cited the "acutely sensitive Martyn" and the "serious and reflective Brainerd" as those who did not give evidence of much joy. He himself was known for his cheerfulness and

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1. McCheyne, diary entry, July 31, 1836, Memoir, p. 56.
 2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Isaiah 40:1,2, 1843.
 3. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, March 13, 1837.

"ringing laughter,"¹ and many of his letters contain such waggish observations and comments, as when his church presented him with a new gown, he wrote: "It is so large and handsome that you would take me for a bishop at the very least."² Yet there was much more involved than temperament alone, as he noted in regard to one who was renowned for his Christian joy:

But to those who are experimentally acquainted with the fitfulness and instability of the mere natural virtues, it will be abundantly evident that the calm and perennial flow of thankful feeling which we have been admiring took its rise from a heart impregnated out and out by the doctrine of salvation by grace. This means of preserving the equal mind in adverse circumstances is as open to us as it was to Swartz. Happy they who apply it diligently.

It was this that McCheyne tried to apply to his own life-- "light-heartedness without a shade of levity; unbroken tranquillity and ease of mind without the least tendency to slothfulness."³ His preaching, ministerial labor, and devotion were all characterized by the thorough-going happiness of one who was content in his calling.⁴

McCheyne had an uncanny premonition about the shortness of his life upon earth. From this developed a deep sense of urgency as a servant of God, which may partly have

1. H. Bonar, op. cit., pp. 88 f. A. Moody-Stuart, Recollections of the Late John Duncan, p. 47, remarked on McCheyne's radiance by referring to his feeling that John ("Rabbi") Duncan was not joyful enough.

2. McCheyne, MS. letter to Mother, Jan. 17, 1837.

3. McCheyne, MS. "On the Character of Swartz."

4. J. Elder Cumming in F. Ferguson, Andrew A. Bonar, p. 130, quoted Bonar as saying in the 1890's that McCheyne in his last months experienced periods of depression due to bodily weakness. Marjorie Bonar, op. cit., p. vii, said Bonar himself "was inclined naturally to depression."

been due to the parallels between his life and those he read about. Martyn and Brainerd were sickly, and both died young. Baxter, although he died an old man, underwent extreme bodily infirmities which caused him to be ever aware of death, and goaded him to greater love and service. And, realizing his own weakness and susceptibility to disease, McCheyne felt it imperative, as he often told his colleagues, to "live and labour now, so that, when you die you may be missed by man, and accepted by God."¹

While still a student at the Divinity Hall, when a long life might have been looked forward to, he described how the opposite might be his portion:

It may be given us merely to enter the vineyard of the Lord, and, ere the youthful glow of love to the Saviour and His cause upon the earth has given place to the more staid and sober energies of the matured evangelist, to quit the ministrations of earth for the ministrations of heaven.

But he continued: "It is equally true that today is ours."² His motto was displayed on his letters in a seal depicting the sun setting behind a hill, with the inscription, "The night cometh." Feeling keenly that his time must be accounted for, and thus wisely used, he frequently asked himself at the end of the day, "Am I redeeming the time?"³ At the close of his divinity training he wrote: "Life is finishing fast. Make haste for eternity."⁴

1. Quoted in G. G. Cameron, Memorials of John Roxburgh, p. 44.

2. McCheyne, MS. essay, "On the Character of Swartz."

3. McCheyne, diary entry, Aug. 15, 1832, Memoir, p. 29.

4. McCheyne, diary entry, March 29, 1835, Memoir, p. 37.

Closely allied with this factor of urgency, and indeed a cause of it, was McCheyne's eagerness to be with Christ, and his belief that He could come at any time. In one of his notebooks, isolated in the middle of a page of sermon outlines, he recorded a flash thought: "Should I not long more to be with Christ."¹ After one communion season he wrote: "It is my third communion. It may be my last. My Lord may come . . ."² His writings are full of the expectation of eternal fellowship with Christ, when he would stand before the throne of God, justified, sanctified, and beginning to grasp the love of God and His plan for the universe--then would he join the innumerable company in the new song before the throne.³

In addition to his desire for Christ's presence, McCheyne's main reason for looking for this time--either death or the coming of Christ--was that he might be completely free from sin. For only then would all feelings of pride or selfishness or lust be completely removed: "Sin is evil and bitter. Holiness will be sweet."⁴ But at the same time, the very possibility of Christ's return at any time made it imperative to be as ready as possible: ". . . the sudden coming of the Saviour constrains a holy walk, separate from sin."⁵ And as he progressed, McCheyne could answer his own question, "Do

1. McCheyne, MS. Notebook XIII, 1841.

2. McCheyne, diary entry, April 1, 1838, Memoir, p. 90.

3. McCheyne, Christian's Daily Companion, p. 290.

4. McCheyne, MS. class notes on Catechism, Notebook VII.

5. McCheyne, diary entry, Oct. 14, 1838, Memoir, p. 91.

I love His appearing?"¹ in a joyous affirmative, not unlike Rutherford:

Welcome light afflictions, which are but for a moment. Welcome sweet cross, that I must bear for Jesus. Roll round swift years, hasten the day of his espousals--the day of the gladness of His heart and mine, that I may enter with all His redeemed through the gates of praise.²

In his personal writings McChesney preserved much of his deepest and most intimate thoughts concerning God and himself. He lived in a time when the keeping of diaries and journals was in vogue, and yet he had a definite reason for so doing. While he realized the disadvantages--making the writer assume feelings and express what he wished to be rather than what he really was--he felt that the advantages were far greater: "It ensures sober reflection on the events of the day as seen in God's eye."³ Strangely enough, he recognized the value of journal to those who came after--in ascertaining the movements of contemplation and action in the writer. For this he cited the case of Brainerd, showing how his biographer was able to draw from his thoughts and experiences "an invincible argument for the divinity of those doctrines of grace . . ."⁴ Likewise, McChesney's own diary gives a good estimate of his life and his progress in relation to God.

In addition to the outstanding events and thoughts in his experience, McChesney recorded many seemingly trivial and

1. McChesney, Christian's Daily Companion, p. 256.

2. Ibid., p. 261.

3. McChesney, diary entry, Feb. 21, 1836, Memoir, p. 49.

4. McChesney, MS. "On the Character of Swartz."

incidental occurrences, together with some application of them to his life. The Dundee Warder commented that "his mind was so full of Christ that, even in writing about the most ordinary affairs, he contrived, by some natural turn, to introduce the glorious subject that was always uppermost with him."¹ Thus, after an eclipse of the sun he wrote: "Lord, one day Thy hand shall put out those candles; for there shall be no need of the sun to lighten the happy land; the lamb is the light thereof--a sun that cannot be eclipsed . . ."² Here too, is seen his tendency to "go off on a word" into prayer and praise, so that it is difficult to distinguish where his account of the day's activities leaves off and his apostrophe to God begins. Often, at the end of an examination or a confession, he invoked the assistance of God, e. g., "Juva, Pater, Fili, et Spiritus!"³

McCheyne naturally transcribed much of his devotional thought into verse, the vast majority of his religious poems (which number about fifty) having come into being as the result of crises and momentous occasions in his life. While they were written for personal consolation and gratification, many were published, and as hymns enjoyed some measure of popularity until the end of the nineteenth century.⁴ "I am Debtor," and "Jehova Tsidkenu" are found in many current hymnals.

1. Quoted by Hamilton in The Witness, loc. cit.

2. McCheyne, diary entry, May 15, 1836, Memoir, p. 51.

3. McCheyne, diary entry, Feb. 5, 1833, Memoir, p. 24.

4. John Julian, A Dictionary of Hymnology, p. 707. Fourteen "Songs of Zion" are in Memoir, pp. 581 ff.

McCheyne's poetry is typified by its emotional quality, which was stimulated by his meditation on the different aspects of the Christian life. But far from conveying these feelings through artificial or improper sentimentality, he sincerely expressed his impressions and thoughts in quiet confidence. Depending upon the occasion, his mood varied from sorrow, remorse, and prayerful examination, to lightness, forgiveness, and unbounded joy. His style is uncomplicated, often characterized by groups of simply rhyming couplets. Occasionally, however, he made use of free verse and other more involved forms. Yet, the significance of these verses is not to be found in their form, but in his spontaneous expression of deep personal feelings. His subject matter generally followed the same lines as his whole devotional thought and is characterized by the use of the personal pronoun, indicating his own experience with God. While observing the Mediterranean Sea, he wrote of God's love:

O Lord, this swelling, tideless sea,
Is like Thy love in Christ to me;
The ceaseless waves that fill the bay
Through flinty rocks have worn their way,
And Thy unceasing love alone
Has broken through this heart of stone.¹

In response to this love, he expressed his sense of indebtedness and gratitude, by which his faith was proved, for: "Faith works by love, if true."² And the validity of this trust is seen in the vital assurance which was a prevailing

1. McCheyne, "On the Mediterranean Sea in the Bay of Carmel," July 18, 1839, Memoir, p. 593.

2. McCheyne, "The Earren Fig Tree," Aug. 14, 1834, Memoir, p. 582.

aspect of his religion:

My heart is fixed--my heart is fixed!
No other love shall come betwixt
My soul and God alone . . . ¹

In spite of this confidence, McChesney often lamented his failure to bear fruit by a life of holiness and service. He examined himself and saw his shortcomings in this respect:

How many years hast thou, my heart,
Acted the barren fig tree's part,
Leafy, and fresh, and fair,
Enjoying heavenly dews of grace,
And sunny smiles from God's own face--
But where the fruit? ah! where? ²

Elsewhere, as he noticed the contradictions within himself and in other Christians, he cried: "Consistency! Consistency! Where art thou to be found?" concluding that it could only be at home in the heart of the devoted Christian. ³ That such stability might be his was his prayer during a visit to the Pool of Siloam:

O grant that I, like this sweet well,
May Jesus' image bear,
And spend my life, my all, to tell,
How full His mercies are. ⁴

The prospect of Christ's return and eternal bliss were also conspicuous in McChesney's poetry. He described his desire to depart this life, paraphrasing the words of Paul:

Contented here to live my time
And serve Him in this dusky clime,
But happier to be gone. ⁵

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1. McChesney, MS., "Hymnology," Sept., 1833, Notebook XVIII.
 2. McChesney, "The Barren Fig Tree," loc. cit.
 3. McChesney, MS., "I Would That Thou Were Cold or Hot," April 28, 1835, Notebook XVIII.
 4. McChesney, "The Fountain of Siloam," Memoir, p. 539.
 5. McChesney, "Hymnology," loc. cit.

And when, "Life's dark journey o'er," he finally reached "yon golden strand," he would have cause continually to sing God's praises:

Shall we not see with deep amaze,
How grace hath led us safe along;
And whilst behind--before we gaze,
Triumphant burst into a song!¹

McCheyne's poetic spark came at various times and on different occasions, but it was almost always spontaneous. He stated that "It is difficult to write when we are obliged to do it," as he was requested to do several times.² As was customary in his day, he frequently made use of common occurrences and events, commemorating them in verse. In all of these, the theme of the poem quickly turned to the application of spiritual truth. He even used the game of billiards as an analogy to the power of death, concluding:

And as the pockets with their wide-spread net
At every corner gape to catch the ball,
So snares on snares in life's green walks are set,
And death's wide pocket yawns to catch us all.³

McCheyne's best poems were written during critical times. One, "written for comfort," described his willfulness and sin in spite of the protective hedge which God had built around him. He was cheered, however, as he thought of repentance and forgiveness through Christ:

I come to Christ because I know
The very worst are called to go;
And when in faith I find Him,

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1. McCheyne, "They Sing the Song of Moses," Memoir, p. 583.
 2. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, May 13, 1835.
 3. McCheyne, MS. "Billiards," 1834, Notebook XVIII.

I'll walk in Him and lean on Him,
Because I cannot move a limb
Until He say, "Unbind him."¹

"Jehovah Tsidkenu"² was composed after a fever, in which, fearing that death might be the outcome, McCheyne had been comforted by the blessings which resulted from Christ's righteousness, both in life and in death. In its published form this hymn was often used to comfort others.³ Here, McCheyne depicted his entire life, beginning, "I once was a stranger to grace and to God . . ." Each verse showed a successive step toward his conversion, from his unawareness of his precarious state, to the time "When free grace awoke me . . ." and he saw that "Jehovah Tsidkenu my Saviour must be." Assured of the banishment of his fear and guilt, and content that, "I ne'er can be lost," he rejoiced:

Even treading the valley, the shadow of death,
This "watchword" shall rally my faltering breath;
For while from life's fever my God sets me free,
Jehovah Tsidkenu, my death song shall be.

These words have been set to the tunes "St. Luke," "Hanover," and "Tsidkenu."

McCheyne's best known poem today is "I Am Debtor," which was written at a time when he had stopped to think of the many ways in which God had blessed him.⁴ This hymn is also extremely personal, reflecting his spiritual life and heavenly-mindedness in its nine stanzas. Adam Philip commented upon its popularity

1. McCheyne, MS. "If any man sin we have an advocate with the Father," June 30, 1833, ibid.

2. McCheyne, MS. "Jehovah Tsidkenu," Nov. 18, 1834, ibid.

3. John Ellerton, "Horatius Bonar," in Henry Houseman, John Ellerton, p. 389.

4. McCheyne, "I Am Debtor," May, 1837, Memoir, p. 586; The Church Hymnary, (1927), # 582.

in published form: "At one time especially, it was influential in large circles of the English church, and did much to flame the devotion in the ranks of the Evangelicals."¹ It began:

When this passing world is done,
When has sunk yon glaring sun,
When I stand with Christ in glory,
Looking o'er life's finished story,
Then Lord, shall I fully know--
Not till then--how much I owe,

The succeeding verses declare the author's awareness of his debt in the light of the beauty of Christ, the horrors of hell, his forgiveness, and his resultant desire to return the love by his Christian service. The significance of the thought conveyed here was described by Russell: "The Evangelical idea of the relation between faith and works cannot be better expressed than by this verse from a favourite hymn:

Chosen not for good in me,
Wakened up from wrath to flee,
Hidden in the Saviour's side,
By the Spirit sanctified,
Teach me, Lord, on earth to show,
By my love how much I owe."²

This has been set in various hymnals to the tunes "Mount Zion," "Nassau," and "Petra."

McCheyne endeavored to be consistent and circumspect in regard to moral behavior and ethics. As he was engrossed in love to Christ and in holiness, he naturally concluded that it was his duty not to be "much taken with the joys that are here."³ He concurred with the tendency of the Evangelical

1. Philip, Devotional Literature, p. 111. He also mentioned T. R. Glover's Latin translation of the hymn.

2. Russell, op. cit., p. 131.

3. McCheyne, Christian's Daily Companion, p. 257.

movement to shun the theater, card games, dancing, the tavern, and even "harmless" secular music (which "will not sanctify, though it make feminine the heart"¹) and "simpling tea parties," for "if you love them, you have never tasted the joys of the new creature."² Athletic activities, however, were heartily condoned and pursued in the interest of physical and mental health.³

Horatius Bonar, describing McCheyne's life and ministry as a decided testimony against "worldly amusements," stated that "some of the most vehement things we ever heard from his lips were in condemnation of the 'lovers of pleasure'." It was essential that Christians be entirely separated from the world, since, despite its progress, refinement, and culture, it maintained its basic hatred against Christ.⁴ At this point McCheyne focused his argument, for it was not so much a question of the things themselves, or of the actual time taken up with them, but of their influence upon the Christian and their detraction from his love for Christ and his consideration of the heavenly life. From this standpoint, McCheyne also indicated his doubt about Christians! taking arms, although he admitted that he was not clear on the matter.⁵

To those who considered this to be a "system of

1. McCheyne, diary entry, June 4, 1833, *Memoir*, p. 32.

2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Hosea 14:8, October, 1840.

3. McCheyne, MS. reading notes, "Dr. Reynolds on Physical Culture," Notebook III.

4. H. Bonar, *Milne*, pp. 326-330.

5. McCheyne, "Reformation," *loc. cit.* Curiously, Bonar omitted this point in his transcription for the *Memoir*.

restrictions and self-crossings," McChesney answered that care must be taken to distinguish the hand of Satan in counterfeiting God's way of sanctification. For rather than forcibly restricting the old tastes, it was imperative to recognize the introduction of a new one, in the light of which all others fell away,¹ as he stated: "Ah! I have tasted all the pleasures of time, and they are not worth one drop of Christ's sweet love."²

During McChesney's lifetime, it was common for Evangelicals to look upon total abstinence from alcoholic beverages with suspicion, as being equated with good works, which led to self-righteousness.³ A temperance society advocating the moderate use of ardent spirits, was first organized in Scotland in 1829; and it was as late as 1838 that it first contended for total abstinence, being denounced by many church leaders.⁴ It was not until 1847 that the two major churches appointed temperance committees,⁵ and the movement did not receive its biggest boost until the Awakening of 1859.⁶

McChesney's views on this matter were thoroughly in accord with the Evangelical position. He roundly condemned drunkenness and the boisterousness of public houses which he

1. McChesney, MS. sermon, Proverbs 1:20-23, 1835.

2. McChesney, MS. sermon, Job 14:1,2, Feb., 1842.

3. Russell, op. cit., p. 135; Dialogue Between a Christian and a Tea-Totaler, (Anon.)

4. David Lewis, The History of the Temperance Movement in Scotland, pp. 9-11; P. T. Winskill, The Temperance Movement and Its Workers, I, p. 4.

5. Fleming, op. cit., p. 79.

6. J. E. Orr, The Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain, p. 214.

called the "curse of Scotland" and the "yawning avenues to poverty and rags in this life, and . . . the short cut to hell."¹ Yet it was temperance for which he pressed--itself being a part of a greater concept of moderation in eating and sleeping, as well as drinking.² He regarded temperance societies to be grossly inadequate and unnecessary. It would do no good for the unconverted to bind himself; the Christian's temperance must be seen to be a fruit of the Spirit rather than the result of a pledge.³

For himself, McCheyne deprecated the use of strong drink, although he admitted the necessity of taking it occasionally (at least in Larbert) as seen in a letter of thanks to his family: "The bottles of good things are by no means unacceptable--all but the whisky to which I am a sworn enemy, though I have to drink many a dram of it when visiting."⁴ Elsewhere he expressed his delight in French wines.⁵ That this practice was not incompatible with his devotion is seen in his ordination dinner where he toasted his communicants while stating his intention to "preach Christ and Him crucified."⁶ However, his minute consumption of such drinks is seen in one six-month period when he used only eight of forty-four small bottles of porter, which his overgenerous family had sent him.⁷

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1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Romans 5:14, 1842; also "I Love the Lord's Day," The Witness, Jan. 15, 1842.
 2. Kirkwood Hewat, McCheyne from the Pow, p. 62.
 3. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Luke 8:26, Jan., 1838.
 4. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, Nov. 23, 1835.
 5. McCheyne, MS. letter to Mother, April 20, 1839.
 6. Dundee Advertiser, Dec. 2, 1838.
 7. McCheyne, MS. letters to Family, Dec. 18, 1835, June 30, 1836.

Had he lived into the latter half of the century, when total abstinence began to be seen as a necessity, we may assume that McCheyne would have deferred to those who were weaker by refraining from alcoholic beverages altogether. In fact, in his later years he may already have done so, for in 1842 he referred to them as "liquid poison."¹

Worldly possessions and concern were to have no part in McCheyne's life. "How sweet," he said, "is a holy carelessness about these things."² Since time was short and Christ could return at once, it behooved him to have as little attachment to the world as possible. He declined his mother's gift of chairs worth twenty-seven shillings apiece and a French bed for his manse--they were too costly and unnecessary.³ Most significant in this respect was his lengthy discussion with his father as to the necessity of life insurance. Following the injunction of Christ, McCheyne contended: "I would live a happier life if I were to live up to every farthing of my income--following the advice of one who lived before the days of insurance offices, 'Sell that ye have and give alms . . . For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.'"⁴

An outstanding aspect of this debate was the advisability of marriage, in which McCheyne indicated his views on the apparent hindrance of a wife. Replying to his father's remark that

1. McCheyne, "I Love the Lord's Day," loc. cit.

2. McCheyne, Interleaved Bible, Luke 12:22.

3. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, Feb. , 1837.

4. McCheyne, MS. letter to Father, Dec. 29, 1836.

provision ought to be made for one's widow, he wrote:

If you can convince me that a wife would make any difference, then you convince me that it would not be good to marry. For if marriage is to make me live a whit more worldly--or to make me give up any strength or money which I might use for Christ, assuredly, I will never marry.¹

However, the fact that McCheyne never married was not due to spiritual asceticism. The reason is more readily to be found in the fact that marriages in those days often took place later in life. In fact, most of the "McCheyne group" were not married until long after his death. He preached that it was contrary to the Word of God to suppose that there was a "peculiar holiness" about an unmarried life, although he allowed that in times of trouble for the Church ("as at present"), all who could should keep themselves disentangled from earthly cares.²

There is a supposition that McCheyne was engaged to be married. Smellie stated that he was engaged twice, the first having been cancelled by his fiancée's family who feared his frail health. The other, to Jessie Thain, the daughter of one of his elders, would supposedly have resulted in marriage had McCheyne lived.³ This is also the judgment reached in the recently published Diary of Jessie Thain, where the editor,

1. Ibid.

2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, I Corinthians 7:29-31.

3. Smellie, op. cit., pp. 195 ff. Cumming, loc. cit., p. 126, quoted Bonar shortly before his death as affirming that McCheyne had been engaged for a year, admitting, however, that this was not verified in McCheyne's writings. Neither was there any allusion to this in later editions of the Memoir (which Bonar occasionally revised), or in the contemporary Dundee press.

noting Jessie's grief at McCheyne's death, concludes that this is "strongly suggestive" of a nearer relationship than that of a pastor to his people.¹ Nevertheless, there is nothing positive either in McCheyne's writings or in Jessie's Diary to verify an engagement. In the light of this, and in that McCheyne had close dealings with Jessie's father and two brothers, the evidence for an engagement appears to be circumstantial as it is dealt with in retrospect. More probable is the fact that Jessie, just emerging from her teens, was infatuated by her minister, who was nine years her senior.

As has been indicated earlier, McCheyne's relationship to his family was characterized by his love and deep concern for their spiritual welfare. "How sad will it be," he wrote, "if you have sent me out to gather strangers into the fold-- while my own family are castaways."² Before each letter home was ended, there was a long appeal to come to Christ, e. g.,

Ah dear Mama, there is no other way of dying in peace than by being joined to the Lord Jesus. It is not harmlessness that will save anybody. It is not prayers or tears that will blot out sin, else the world would be saved. It is only the blood of Jesus applied to the conscience and to the heart. It is only having Jesus in our arms that gives us true peace.³

As late as two months before his death, his concern was still seen as he mentioned "the deep anxieties I have for you all

1. Murdoch Campbell, (ed.), Diary of Jessie Thain, p. 8. Both Smellie and Campbell have tended to sentimentalize this relationship, e. g., Smellie: ". . . these two were husband and wife in spirit if not in actual experience." (p. 202).

2. McCheyne, MS. letter to Father, Nov. 16, 1835.

3. McCheyne, MS. letter to Mother, July 18, 1836.

. . ."¹ That his persistence was rewarded, long before his last months, is evident in the letters of his family.

McCheyne was also influential in the conversion of three of his cousins, young ladies in their twenties from Ruthwell, whom he regarded as the first fruits among his kindred. Before their conversion they had dubbed him "Perfection,"² but he broke through their taunts. Their regard for him as their spiritual father is seen in their numerous letters: "Oh how I wish you lived in our parish or walking distance!" and ". . . when I think that you were the blessed instrument God used for to change my heart, I cannot but think you like to hear the mind of your child."³

Wherever he was--Edinburgh, Dundee, or Ruthwell--McCheyne delighted in leading family devotions. This he considered to be absolutely important for a "family that would wish to be able to look one another in the face in the Judgment," and he regretted that he was no longer able to conduct devotions in his father's home.⁴ He urged the continuance of this practice upon his family, and upon his people in Dundee: "Do you observe family prayer? If it is kept in your house, are you careful to be present, to attend and join in it? If not kept, do you plead with your father to keep it?"⁵

In his own manse, family worship was carried on in a

1. McCheyne, MS. letter to Father, Jan. 30, 1843.

2. Hewat, op. cit., p. 81.

3. Charlotte, Georgina, and Maria Dickson, MS. letters to McCheyne, 1840's, passim.

4. McCheyne, MS. letter to Father, Nov. 9, 1835.

5. McChoyne, MS. class notes on Catechism, Notebook VII.

cheerful and buoyant atmosphere. Norrie described this:

One who had an opportunity of judging has stated that there was an indescribable charm in the manner in which he conducted family worship. Nothing could be more pleasant than to be present at the house of prayer in his own house, and the psalm was not the least attractive of it.¹

The domestic servant at Andrew Bonar's manse was similarly struck by McCheyne's prayers during these times: "Oh, to hear Mr. McCheyne at prayers in the mornin'! It was as if he would never gi'e ower; he had sae muckle to ask. Ye would hae thocht the very walls would speak again."²

In the context of this life of devotion, McCheyne entered the ministry. His ordination was the crowning moment of his life, and he eagerly anticipated the greater usefulness which it would bring, having previously written, ". . . I sometimes feel the loss of not having the full powers of a minister of Christ."³ That he considered the ministry to be the highest and most solemn honor is seen in a list of terms he gave to it on one occasion: "the mighty office," "fellow-workers with God," "heralds of His Son," and men "chosen out of the chosen."⁴ This is also seen as he constantly set before his people the claims and responsibilities of ministers: "Pray that ministers may thus speak to you--with the taste of manna in their mouth--with the living water springing up in their hearts--with the light shining sweetly into their own

1. W. Norrie, (comp.), Dundee Celebrities of the Nineteenth Century, p. 85.

2. Hewat, op. cit., p. 123.

3. McCheyne, MS. letter to Father, March 9, 1836.

4. McCheyne, diary entry, June 25, 1832, Memoir, p. 27.

bosoms."¹

McCheyne was struck by the need for a devoted ministry in the light of the shortness of time and the many people who were "perishing for lack of knowledge," commenting: "There is a great want of faithful ministers. I never knew until I came here what a curse a bad minister must be--what a blighting desolation he can cast around him."² Nothing should turn the minister from his supreme interest--the eternal welfare of his people. He should always be accessible, but for this reason alone: "Do not trouble him about worldly matters. His grand concern is to get your soul saved. He is not a man of business, but a man of prayer."³ This was more than enough to keep a man fully occupied, for the eternity of thousands of people depended upon his faithfulness. But the great responsibility was overbalanced by the fact that "the grace is so full, and the rewards so glorious."⁴

McCheyne considered the task of the minister to be divided into three parts. There was the "blessed office" of building up the saints in their faith. Next there was the necessity of teaching "converted but still weak and sinful men to lean on their beloved."⁵ Both of these ministerial functions were of high importance, and McCheyne devoted a great part of his preaching and teaching to them. For his ministry, however,

1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, II Cor. 4:1-6, Nov. 23, 1841.

2. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, Dec. 14, 1835.

3. McCheyne, MS. sermon, II Timothy 4:1,2, Dec., 1840.

4. Ibid.

5. McCheyne, sermon, Jude 24, May 10, 1841, quoted in Hewat, op. cit., p. 37.

there was something far more vital and essential--the evangelization of the lost. This, he declared, was the prime work of all pastors:

But oh! It is an office more blessed still, and it is a privilege not given to angels, to stand as it were between the living and the dead--to be carried as was Ezekiel into the valley full of bones--very dry--and to be commissioned to prophecy to those dry bones--to say unto them: "Oh! ye dry bones, hear the word of the Lord!" It is indeed a labour of love which shall meet its reward--to be a teacher of the Faithful . . . But there is a peculiarity in the way which conversion is spoken of, which plainly indicates how much weightier and more awful a work, and how peculiar a blessing attends this the peculiar duty of the Christian minister.¹

In all of his labors, the minister ought definitely to look for signs of success, both among Christians and among the unconverted. There should be no satisfaction until the one group was living under the purity of the gospel, nor any rest without the conversion of the other group. Moreover, he firmly stated that success was the inevitable consequence of a living ministry, while lack of it was to be the exception.²

The key to McCheyne's ministerial success lay in his personal holiness and its manifestation to those around him. Candlish wrote: "Assuredly he had more of the mind of his Master than almost any one I ever knew--and realized to me more of the likeness of the beloved disciple."³ His was a mystical experience, based not merely upon transmitted

1. McCheyne, MS. Homily, Matt. 7:13,14, July, 1835.

2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, II Timothy 4:1,2, Dec., 1840.

3. Candlish, MS. letter to St. Peter's, March 28, 1843.

beliefs, but upon first-hand knowledge of God.¹ The result of this was a greater decisiveness in all his action and thought. His love was deeper, his doctrine was more firmly fixed, his condemnation of sin was more vehement, and his evangelism was more urgent--motivated by this strong conviction of what he was certain to be the truth.

Showing his complete satisfaction and enjoyment in his calling, Robert McCheyne gathered together all his thoughts and declared: ". . . I can truly say that I desire no other honour upon earth than to be allowed to preach the everlasting gospel. Thanks be unto God for His unspeakable gift!"²

1. Evelyn Underhill, The Mystics of the Church, pp. 9, 10.

2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, II Timothy 4:1,2, Dec., 1840.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PASTOR IN HIS PARISH

(1836-1843)

O how I wished that I had a tongue like thunder, that I might make all hear; or that I had a frame like iron, that I might visit every one, and say, "Escape for thy life."

--December, 1842

THE PASTOR IN HIS PARISH

The town of Dundee in which the twenty-three year old McCheyne began his ministry in 1836 was just emerging as a throbbing industrial and shipping center. Long a base for whaling fleets, it was rapidly becoming a significant port whose volume had quadrupled since 1800. Its chief industry was the manufacture of linen, rope, and allied products, and it was to enjoy a monopoly in jute manufacture until well into the latter half of the century. The perfection of the steam engine and other machinery led to the expansion of old mills and the building of new factories, bringing employment to the masses who poured in from all over Scotland and from Ireland.

Generally, there was a buoyant feeling of success and enterprise. Employment was high and steady, including women and children. As the town expanded, streets and homes were built, the harbor was enlarged, and schools and seminaries were opened. Newspapers told of cricket matches, balls, plowing contests; later described a medieval tournament and the Queen's marriage; and advertised six-penny sailings to Edinburgh, and "Kalydor" to "keep skin white and delicate-- the greatest of all female attractions." A contemporary writer expressed his optimism: "there seems scarcely a limit

. . . to the advancement and prosperity of the town."¹

At the same time, however, the evils of the Industrial Revolution prevailed in Dundee. Newcomers lured from out-lying districts were rapidly lost in the crowd where small town morals and gossip were done away. In contrast to the luxury of the "jute lords,"² they were forced to live in miserable homes, surrounded by vice, monotony and insecurity. The factories, where over half the workers were under eighteen, gave rise to educational, moral and health problems.³ One who began work at the age of seven later commented on

The dust, the din, the work, the hissing and roaring of one person to another, the obscene language uttered, even by the youngest, and the imperious commands harshly given by those "dressed in a little brief authority". . .⁴

as he described the coarseness, cruelty and lowliness amid which children were forced to spend twelve hours a day.

Wages were reasonably high, and liquor consumption was proportionate. In one parish there were only eleven bread shops as against 108 public houses. A quarter of the working class income was spent for liquor, and Dundee was second only to Glasgow in intoxication and crime rates, which had increased twenty-nine fold since the advent of the industrial era.⁵

Religious interest was lacking, and the system of pew renting was the chief excuse. It was not uncommon for

1. NSA, XI, p. 52.

2. Corporation of Dundee, Dundee: Official Handbook, p. 9.

3. George Lewis, The State of St. David's Parish, with Remarks on the Moral and Physical Statistics of Dundee, p. 8.

4. Frank Forrest, Chapters in the Life of a Dundee Factory Boy, p. 20.

5. Lewis, op. cit., pp. 49-51.

families to rent one seat and take turns at the services.¹

The Church was characterized by a want of enthusiasm and energy, and until the 1830's no real effort had been made to accommodate the growing population. However, the dissolution of Dundee's single parish of St. Mary's into separate parishes, and the building of new churches, led to a gradual return to religion.²

St. Peter's parish, the first real contribution toward remedying the need for accommodation, included almost four thousand people,³ with "not a few of the more intelligent and influential citizens" living in the neighborhood of industrial artisans, and the mill-workers of one section being offset by the almost rural population of another.⁴ Most of the people were weavers, warpers, spinners, mill-wrights, and laborers; although there were also some bankers, merchants, and manufacturers.⁵ The latter group, however, constituted the greater part of the leadership of the parish.

The majority of McCheyne's parishioners were total strangers to the Church. His first impression of the spiritual state of Dundee was: "A city given to idolatry and hardness of heart."⁶ After a short time in St. Peter's he remarked:

1. Ibid., p. 10.

2. Rollo, op. cit., p. 45; Fasti, V, p. 314.

3. Speaking about Church Extension, McCheyne once described his parish as being four times the ideal size. (MS. sermon, I Sam. 3:19, Feb. 1838.)

4. Hamilton, in The Witness, loc. cit.

5. Dundee Parochial Register: St. Peter's Parish, 1837-1856.

6. Memoir, p. 67.

I fear it is a very dark corner this--the light always appears to me like a single candle set up in the midst of a dark church. It only makes the darkness visible. There seems to be a tinge of obscurity over the Christian people--they are infected by the surrounding mass.¹

In the light of his friends' experiences, McCheyne was fortunate to secure a charge so soon after the completion of his studies. Through choice, or (in most cases) inability to receive a presentation, most of his friends had to endure several years of waiting, continuing as assistants. Most notable was Andrew Bonar, in whom this led to despondency. McCheyne consoled him by comparing him to the best arrow which the warrior saves for the most decisive moment of the fight.² On many occasions, as other churches offered him calls, McCheyne recommended those of his friends who had not as yet been settled.

St. Peter's church, according to plan, was "plain and substantial," so as to secure at once cheapness and size. The steeple was not added until several years later, its design being highly praised.³ The sanctuary was free from ornament, the pulpit and precentor's desk at one end being the only furnishings beside the seating accommodation for 1175 people.⁴ A gallery surrounded the room on three sides,

1. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, Nov. 30, 1836. Here he alluded to the trial of Irving, who stalked out of darkened Annan church, to the solicitous crying-out of a friend, while the clerk vainly held aloft the single candle to perceive the cause of the commotion.

2. McCheyne, letter to Bonar, Jan. 19, 1838, in Reminiscences, p. 11.

3. Dundee Advertiser, Sept. 27, 1839.

4. McCheyne's pulpit has since been removed to the church hall. Some left-over wood was used to make church mementos.

enhancing the ministry of the Word by direct contact between preacher and hearers.

Priority in seat letting was given to persons within the parish. Three-fourths of the sittings were held by parishioners, of whom nearly 700 had never held seats before.¹ The rates--six shillings for the most expensive, and three for the cheapest--were hailed as "extremely moderate," paving the way for a well-filled church.² McCheyne, however, having seen the restriction of prohibitive rents, advocated their complete removal, or at least their reduction so that "the poorest of the poor can pay."³ Soon, as his reputation spread, people came from all over Dundee to hold sittings,⁴ and additional seats were set up in the aisles. Not long after his settlement, he described his reception in another Dundee church:

In the evening I preached in the Old Church--a queer building with nooks and galleries around and about you. It was very much thronged even before the bells began, so that it was only by dint of elbows and knees that I could make my way to the pulpit. Everybody came to hear the young minister. I fear few came to help our poor Gaelic schools. . . .⁵

Similarly, St. Peter's boasted a full church from the outset of his ministry, and was considered to be "one of the most successful experiments in the way of Church Extension."⁶

1. Home and Foreign Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland, Sept. 1838, p. 74, Sept. 1839, p. 41.

2. Dundee Courier, May 17, 1836.

3. McCheyne, MS. letter to Father, Aug. 14, 1838; poem on Church Extension, Memoir, p. 79.

4. History of St. Peter's Free Church, Dundee, p. 5.

5. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, Dec. 12, 1836.

6. HFR, Sept. 1839, p. 41.

In the Church of Scotland at this time, worship was as chaste as architecture, adhering to time-honored forms. The elaborate system and symbolism of Roman Catholicism was reacted against so that the opposite extreme was attained. Although long, the service was composed of few items: two or three singings and several prayers leading to the long sermon, which may or may not have been introduced by a Bible reading. Few preachers could liberate the service from its barrenness; most only made it more dreary.¹

Under McCheyne, the services at St. Peter's, while conforming generally to custom, were inspiring and interesting. One of his friends described them:

It was pleasant to preach in St. Peter's church. The children on the pulpit stairs, the prayers in the vestry, the solemn and often crowded auditory, the sincerity of all the worship, and the often-felt presence of God, made it like few other sanctuaries.²

McCheyne made improvements in the musical portion of the service (being one of the first to do so, according to James Moffatt). Having a "refined musical taste,"³ he often led the praise himself, usually including four singings. His favorite was "Newington" which came to be known as "Mr. McCheyne's tune."⁴ He deplored the slovenly praise of most churches: "There is perhaps none of the means of grace which is so much neglected by believers in the present day as that of singing praises to God. . ." Asking, "What worldly passion

1. Fleming, op. cit., pp. 9, 116.

2. Hamilton, in W. Arnot, Life of James Hamilton, p. 238.

3. James Moffatt, Handbook of the Church Hymnary, p. 412.

4. Norrie, op. cit., p. 65.

hath the melody of voice and heart not been used to inflame?" he pointed out that both scripture and experience verify that music must also be an integral part of praising God.¹ Thus, it was "a great shame that Christians did not endeavor to sing the praise of God well."² He improved the congregational singing by holding weekly "meetings for singing" during the summer months.³ Disliking "vocal bands"--or choirs--which were gaining popularity,⁴ he encouraged everyone to sing, and the psalmody at St. Peter's was described as "though very plain, . . . remarkably full and sweet."⁵

McCheyne's public prayers, while not eloquent, were characterized by thorough confession of sin, reverential communion with God, and urgent supplication, so that "it was awakening to hear him pray."⁶ He prayed extemporaneously, although he often composed his thoughts on paper beforehand.⁷ The words of Scripture were his chief means of expression,⁸ and one hearer noted that "the opening prayer was based on the greater part of the 148th Psalm."⁹ Another commented: "He never told us what prayer was; he never needed. Behold, he prayeth--that is prayer. Few that heard ever forgot his first two words:

1. McCheyne, "Singing Praises," in The Scottish Christian Herald, I, July 9, 1836, p. 302.

2. Hewat, op. cit., p. 98.

3. E. McCheyne, MS. letter to Parents, June 12, 1837.

4. G. D. Henderson, The Claims of the Church of Scotland, p. 71.

5. Norrie, loc. cit.

6. Presbyterian Review, July, 1844, p. 219.

7. Cf. McCheyne, MS. wedding prayer, n.d.

8. Cf. McCheyne, prayers in Family Worship, pp. 288-293.

9. William Lamb, in Hewat, op. cit., p. 55.

'Holy Father'."¹

McCheyne felt that the two hours of preaching on the Sabbath ought not be a burden to his people, for "when men are hearing of salvation, they do not count time."² Yet at least one young person balked at the length, as she recounted an invitation to hear him preach: "I was very unwilling for I knew you preached very long--but I was ashamed to refuse."³ Adam McCheyne stated that some were driven away by the long sermons, but that others quickly took their places in St. Peter's.⁴

The high points in the church year throughout Scotland were the communion seasons, although much had changed since the time when the "holy fair" was the scene of unworthy extravagances.⁵ Traditionally there were only one or two seasons a year, symbolizing the once-for-allness of Christ's death.⁶ But McCheyne introduced the celebration four times a year, which was regarded as an innovation.⁷ He referred to the sacrament as a foretaste of heaven, describing it: "Oh lovely significant keepsake of Immanuel."⁸ He also felt this to be opportune for awakening and conversion, so his communion messages usually had evangelistic overtones.

The preparation of the congregation began on the previous

1. Memoir, 1913 ed., Appendix III, p. 201.

2. McCheyne, MS. lecture, Matt. 15:29-39.

3. Quoted by McCheyne, MS. Notebook XIV (1838).

4. A. McCheyne, MS. letter to Bonar, cp. cit.

5. Henry F. Henderson, Religion in Scotland, p. 288.

6. G. D. Henderson, Church and Ministry, p. 45.

7. Hewat, op. cit., p. 71.

8. McCheyne, MS. class notes, Notebook VII.

Sunday, called "ante-Sacramental." McCheyne was then joined by his assisting ministers on the Thursday following for the two "Fast Day" services of "humiliation" and prayer. Friday and Saturday had one service each. The next Monday was the "Day of Thanksgiving," and on the following Sunday some allusion to the Sacrament was invariably made--extending its prominence over twelve Sundays in the year.

The day of the Communion was long, and the dispensing of the elements often lasted from six to seven hours. The "Action Sermon" before the distribution dealt with the love of Christ as seen in His atonement and His invitation to all:

Ah! brethren, herein was infinite love. Infidels scoff at it--fools despise it; but it is the wonder of all heaven. The Lamb that was slain will be the wonder of all eternity. Today Christ is evidently set forth crucified among you. Angels, I doubt not, will look down in amazing wonder at that table. Will you look on with cold, unmoved hearts?¹

As for the actual partaking, however, McCheyne strictly laid down the qualifications in the "Fencing of the Tables." Concerning this practice G. D. Henderson wrote that it was "sometimes used by enthusiastic ministers in a manner that must have produced thrills of terror rather than an attitude of affectionate trust."² McCheyne, while enumerating the dangers of partaking unworthily,³ was confident that he had ample reason to be explicit in the example of Jesus, who singled out the Betrayer before the first Lord's Supper. But as Christ did it, so must he--in love, leaving the final

1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Col. 1:21-23, Aug. 1841.

2. Henderson, Church and Ministry, p. 46.

3. McCheyne, MS. sermon, I Cor. 11:29, 30, 1841.

decision to the individual.¹ His supreme aim was to prevent the Sacrament from being taken lightly without meaning. To those outside of Christ, or living in sin he declared: "As the servant of the Lord, I debar you from the table of the Lord;"² while those who hesitated for fear of unworthiness but who had accepted Christ, were invited: "Come with His robe on you. Come thus, and you come welcome."³

The distribution of the elements was preceded by the quoting of Scripture and appropriate comments at each of the many "table services" by the guest ministers. Following this was the "exhortation" to the entire assembly, and the service was closed with prayer. The attendance at the communion services was always high by present-day comparizon. For the "Fast Day" and other morning services it was common for about 700 to be present, while the Sacrament was dispensed in a full church.⁴

To assist McCheyne there were usually four or five of his ministerial friends, all of whom looked forward to the Sacrament as a time of mutual fellowship as well as of spiritual service. Prominent in the "McCheyne group",⁵ in addition to Moody Stuart and James Grierson, were: James Hamilton, who had been Candlish's assistant and was later minister in Abernyte and Regent Square, London; Robert

1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Jn. 13:21, Aug. 1836.

2. McCheyne, MS. Fencing the Tables, April, 1838.

3. McCheyne, Fencing the Tables, Jan., 1840.

4. McCheyne, MS. letter to Horatius Bonar, Oct. 18, 1842.

5. Philip, Gowrie, p. 273, designated Moody Stuart as the originator of this group which bears McCheyne's name.

Macdonald of Blairgowrie, who was noted for his work with young people and in the Free Church's educational scheme; Patrick Miller, of Wallacetown, Dundee; John Purves of Jedburgh; Daniel Cormick of Kirriemuir, who influenced the life of Alexander Whyte;¹ Alexander Cumming of Dumbarney; John Milne of Perth; and William Chalmers Burns.

McCheyne's closest friends continued to be those of his student days: the brothers Bonar and Alexander Somerville. Somerville (b. 1813) succeeded McCheyne at Larbert and was later called to Anderston Church, Glasgow. He was an enthusiastic supporter of the missionary enterprise, and travelled extensively in this regard. In 1886 he was made Moderator of the Free Church.²

Horatius Bonar (b. 1808) during McCheyne's lifetime was minister at Kelso, from whence he transferred to the Grange, Edinburgh. He was the author of numerous works on prophecy and evangelism, but is more widely known for his many hymns. He moderated the Free Church Assembly in 1883.³

His brother Andrew (b. 1810) was McCheyne's closet friend, living in nearby Collace and accompanying him in the Jewish Mission. After 1856 he was minister of Finnieston Free Church, Glasgow. He preceded his brother to the Moderator's chair, in 1878. While strictly adhering to Calvinistic theology, he, like Horatius, was an outstanding supporter in Scotland of the

1. G.F. Barbour, Life of Alexander Whyte, pp. 25, 26.

2. Smith, Modern Apostle, passim.

3. Horatius Bonar, D. D., A Memorial, passim.

pre-millennial return of Christ. It was largely through the "personal holiness" of McCheyne that Bonar's wife-to-be was converted.¹

The most remarkable thing about this group was the seriousness and consistency of their religion, which was not merely confined to ministerial duties, but pervaded even their most informal letters. One wrote: "Robert, if there be one thing of the importance of which I am becoming aware, it is the importance of prayer. If we are to do any good, we must acknowledge God more, and prayer is the established mode of making this acknowledgement."² Similarly, another wrote: "Oh that I had the simple childlike submission you speak about. . . ."³

Concerning McCheyne's letters, Hamilton stated: "It was always quickening to hear from him. It was like climbing a hill, and when weary or lagging, hearing the voice of a friend who has got far up on the sunny heights, calling you to arise and come away."⁴ Andrew Bonar described his letters as being "the fresh thoughts and feelings of his soul at the moment he took up his pen."⁵ He was noted for his subscriptions at the end of his letters, as this one, chosen at random:

I have great desire for personal growth in faith and holiness. . . . Can you help me to study more successfully. . . . The trials of the Church are near.

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1. M. Bonar, Reminiscences, p. 29.
 2. Somerville, MS. letter to McCheyne, Feb. 12, 1839.
 3. Robert Macdonald, MS. letter to McCheyne, Jan. 2, 1840.
 4. Hamilton, in The Witness, loc. cit.
 5. Memoir, p. 140.

May we be kept in the shadow of the Rock. Farewell.
May Jesus shine on you.¹

Such expressions, while perhaps stereotyped clichés today, originated in a heart saturated with Biblical imagery and were the continual outpouring of one to whom Jesus Christ was supreme. Coming from the background of McCheyne's experience, they were considered to be far from trite.

The desire for ministerial fellowship, typified by Horatius Bonar's plea: "Oh, Robert, if you could but remain some days longer, you do not know what a favour you would confer on me,"² was partially filled by their programs of prayer. The ministers around Dundee convened for an hour and a half each Monday morning in the vestry of St. David's.³ Also, a common day each month was set aside by the ministers in their own parishes, for which McCheyne instituted the use of circular letters reminding of the day and noting the subjects for prayer.⁴ More informally, two or three of them met occasionally for a whole day of confession of sin, Bible study, and prayer.⁵

One result of such devoted and united ministerial endeavor was the awakening which came to a peak in 1839, having as it did much of its power in the region surrounding Dundee. Philip spoke of the Dundee-Erris-Collace area as "an electric spot in

1. McCheyne, MS. letter to H. Bonar, Oct. 18, 1842.

2. H. Bonar, MS. letter to McCheyne, Jan. 30, 1840.

3. McCheyne, Diary entry, Dec. 8, 1839, Memoir, p. 138.

4. H. Bonar, Milne, p. 94.

5. Memoir, p. 80. A bench from Andrew Bonar's garden, used by the Bonars and McCheyne, is in the Church of Scotland offices.

the country" from 1838 to 1843.¹ McCheyne's centrality in this group was noted by one writer: ". . . his brethren were accustomed to feel as if it were well when their measures met with his approval and sanction. He was indeed, the object of an esteem and reverence singular towards so young a man."²

R. W. Dale has stated that the chief virtue of the Evangelical movement was that "it cared supremely for men." Not so much concerned with that "which had not a direct relation to salvation," it pressed the gospel of Christ upon men in danger of being consumed and excluded from the favor of God.³ This characteristic is most clearly seen in McCheyne's ministry. In all his pastoral activities he aimed at pointing out to his people their desperate need and its remedy. He had a shepherd's heart, and was known not only to pray, but also to weep for his people.⁴

McCheyne's pastoral work, although methodical and systematic, was not innovative. Occasionally he employed methods which were slightly in advance of his time. Usually, however, he adhered to current procedures, achieving a great deal of success. "To this very day," wrote A. W. Blackwood, "all over Scotland, as well as far beyond, his name stands as a symbol of what it means to be a parish minister."⁵ Hugh Watt remarked that his labors were powered by a prodigality of passionate

1. Philip, Gowrie, p. 307.

2. Norrie, op. cit., p. 84.

3. R. W. Dale, Old Evangelicalism and The New, p. 21.

4. In his final illness he dolefully prayed: "This parish, Lord, this people, this whole place." (Memoir, p. 171.)

5. Andrew W. Blackwood, Pastoral Work, p. 159.

affection.¹ Another writer, commenting on McChayne's pastoral diligence and success, harked back to the preceding century and described him: "The second Willison of Dundee."²

In his general visitation, McChayne adopted the system he first learned from Chalmers and used in Larbert. The basis of this was to minister to the geographical parish rather than merely to the members of the congregation. At Larbert he usually visited twelve to fifteen families each calling day, but in his own charge this was sometimes increased to twenty families. Bonar noted that he often spent six hours in visiting.³ He overlooked no home, so as to survey thoroughly the religious condition of the parish and to converse at least once with as many people as possible.

McChayne himself notified the families the day before he was to visit them, when, as he expressed it, "I girded myself for the combat and commenced."⁴ After learning the denomination and surmising the spirituality of the people (many of whom were "Old Light Dissenters"), he expounded some pertinent text of Scripture, carefully noting the impression it made upon his hearers as he "spoke plainly" and "urged them hard."

If children were present, McChayne spoke directly to them, often examining them in the Catechism. Guests in the home were also singled out for attention, as he noted: "When visiting a

1. Watt, Chalmers, p. 152.

2. Herrie, op. cit., p. 84.

3. Memoir, p. 93.

4. McChayne, MS. letter to Family, March 22, 1837.

family whether ministerially or otherwise, speak particularly to the strangers about eternal things--perhaps God has brought you together just to save the soul."¹

Before he left, McCheyne invited everyone to an evening meeting where it was common for him to speak to nearly two hundred people in a large home or on some back green. The people responded to these "cottage lectures",² and often came from other districts of the parish to hear him preach for over an hour and a half. He was particularly pleased with this system because it combined public and household ministration: ". . . your observance of their families, of their circumstances, trade, and providence, enables you to preach to their case."³

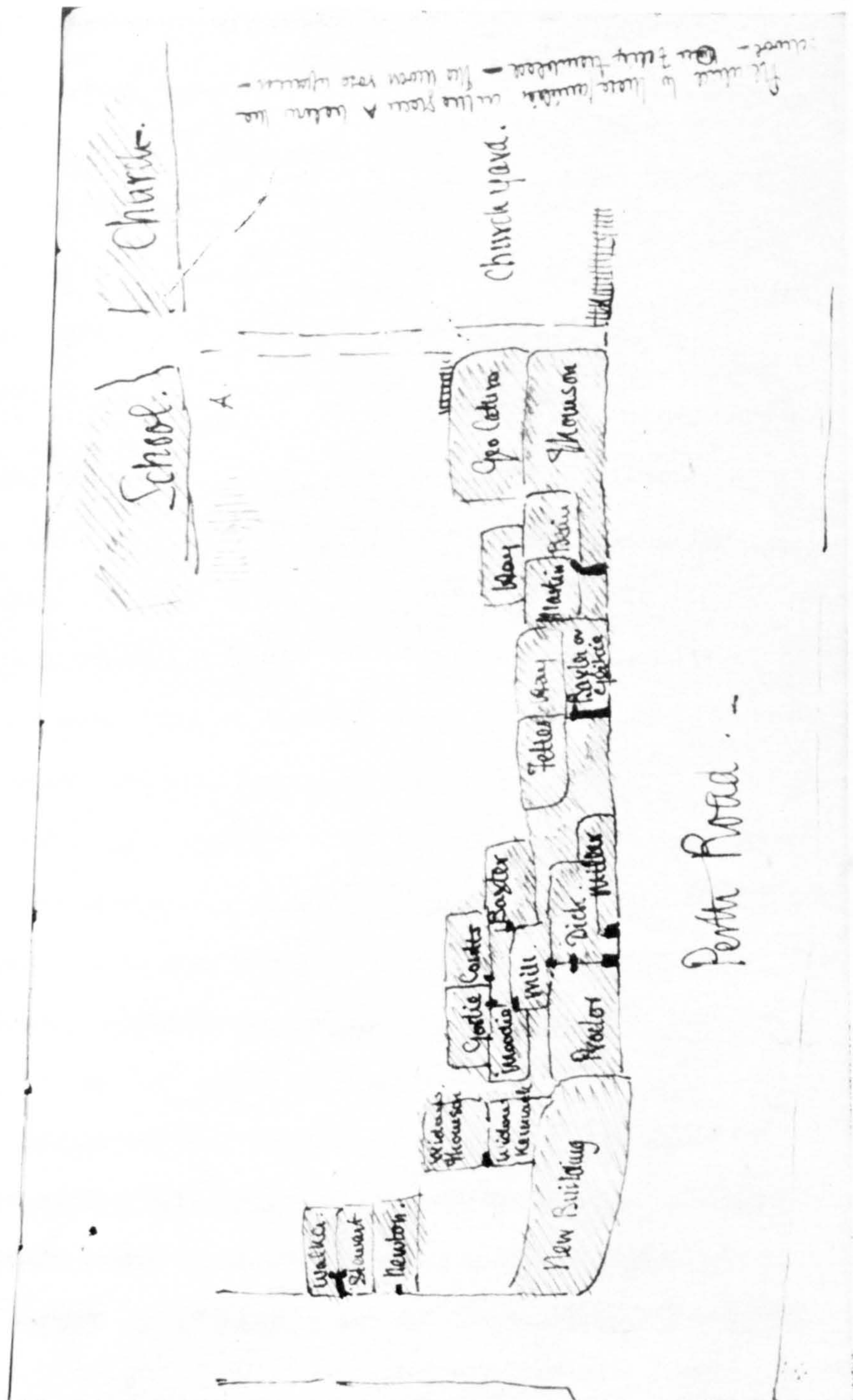
McCheyne made thorough notes of all his pastoral visits, in which he recorded the dates of the calls, descriptions of the people visited, the portion of Scripture expounded, and impressions gathered. His comprehensiveness will be seen in such notations as: "Singing canaries tried to beat me"; and "queer old hag of a woman--yet her soul is precious as mine." After frankly noting that a certain plowman was a "clod-pole", he prayerfully inserted, "Touch Thou his heart."

For the sick, he had a separate section, which shows his more frequent visits to them, and their progress from time to time. It is evident that as the end neared for certain ones, so did his efforts increase to make them see their need of

1. McCheyne, MS. Notebook X, p. 29.

2. William C. Blaikie, For the Work of the Ministry, p. 210.

3. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, June 30, 1836; Notebook X.



Christ. The sick and the dying, he stressed, must be carefully and regularly instructed, if possible by several different ministers, so that different avenues of approach might be used.¹ Something of his concern is seen in the following, written after almost daily visitation to one who finally died: "Poor Alice--I shall never forget thee till judgment--then may I see thee a gathered jewel." Of another:

Died, 8 June at 2--it is to be feared, as he lived. Oh, Lord, lay not this soul's blood to my charge. Truly I might have seen him oftener--and spoken plainer, and more affectionately--and less stiffly. Heard that he thought me hard upon him. Something about hell seems to have stuck by him. His hard-hearted wife had reviled our often coming--"Are they gaun to make him a minister?"²

Epidemics were prevalent in Dundee, from 1833 to 1839 there being about 12,000 cases of fever with 1200 deaths, making the death rate second only to Glasgow.³ Soon after his arrival, McChoyne ministered to many who were suffering from influenza. His own death was the result of visitation during a typhus epidemic in 1843. He disregarded his own welfare, attending not only to the spiritual but also to the physical needs of the people. He often recorded the pulses of the sick, and even noted the symptoms and his diagnoses, mentioning such examinations as: "Listened at her back and heart and heard work of death going on fearfully."⁴

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1. McChoyne, "Another Lily Gathered," Memoir, pp. 506, 507.
 2. McChoyne, MS. Notebook X, passim.
 3. Lewis, St. David's and Dundee, p. 41.
 4. McChoyne, MS. Letter to Father, Jan. 17, 1837; Memoir, p. 67

McCheyne's awareness of the importance of the mind in physical healing is noteworthy. When only sixteen he had written: "Wherever the one is distracted and disordered by passions or the cares of life, the other, seized by a sort of sympathy is immediately affected."¹ Some time later he wrote of the necessity of a peaceful mind in order to preserve health: "Indeed if I were training doctors I think I should fall on some plan of beginning with the mind--feeling its pulse first." Further, rational peace would only come from a right relationship to God. For this reason physicians ought to make a careful study of the Bible, in order to comfort and edify their patients.²

In spite of this sane outlook, McCheyne noted (primarily in his earlier ministry) that there were professional clashes with physicians and difficulties with some of the families. He was no doubt guilty of some interference--however justified--as when he "forbad them to give her whisky which they used to do."³ But the main cause was his aim to "speak plainly" to the patients, which was somewhat unsettling. He despised the "cruel kindness" of those who kept from the sick the truth of their condition with "murderous lies."⁴ One patient whose pulse was "almost uncountable" was bluntly told that "she had no chance for life." Another's reaction to his "plain and touching" words was so much nervousness

1. McCheyne, MS. essay, "Government of the Passions", loc. cit.

2. McCheyne, MS. letter to Wm. McCheyne, March 3, 1835; also letter dated Feb. 3, 1833, Memoir, p. 30.

3. McCheyne, MS. Notebook X, pp. 116, 250, 253, 398.

4. McCheyne, MS. sermon, John 13:21, June, 1837.

that her family would not let him see her. He noted one physician's reaction to his procedure: "Dr. Tennant has forbid all disturbance from ministers. So the body doctor has thrust out the soul doctor."¹

McCheyne's notes show his perception as to the sincerity of the persons concerned. Some were honestly able or unable to accept his message; others merely feigned interest. About one woman he wrote: "'I have had four husbands--all dead!--crocodile tears.'" The concluding remark about one who had been dangerously ill was: "Got quite well, so good-bye religion."

To assist in the visitation, McCheyne instituted a system of deaconesses, whose work was chiefly with Roman Catholic women in the parish.² The elders also helped in this work. Although McCheyne was untiring in his pastoral calling, he later stated that he should have done more. Bonar referred to this, giving as the reasons the condition of McCheyne's health and the accumulation of other labors--so that he was never able to overtake the visitation of the entire parish.³ However, he was regarded to have been singularly successful in this work, and a close friend later spoke of him as "one of the most complete ministers I ever met. . . an excellent visitor."⁴

When forced to be away from Dundee, McCheyne wrote many pastoral letters to his people. Typically, he passed over

1. McCheyne, MS. Notebook X, pp. 117, 261.

2. McCheyne, MS. letters to Family, March 13, 1837, Oct. 1, 1839.

3. Memoir, p. 70.

4. John Baxter, quoted in Hewat, op. cit., p. 93.

Sanct Fleming - Girl of 17. - Julia 120 - Has been 6 months ill.

Visited 19. Nov. 1835.

Visited 24. April 1836. Had been better - then ill again -

Inflammation of lungs & throat - Maria 51. "Tough of 17." -

Very gentle & benevolent - when in trouble -

Visited 25. April. No letter - Prov. 1. Turn - "God have

visited 25. April - Maria Julia 145 - Mult. of Jerusalem -

At visiting - She seemed to leave by the thought of "being

visited 26. April - Maria Julia - "Is there no value?" -

visited 28. April. Increasing anxiety - All. Maria

visited 29. April. Maria XV. At home - spoke with all -

visited 30. April. Maria 32. At home of St. Roch - satisfied

visited 31. May. Maria 50. 10. At home in London - Mary

visited 1. May. Mary. Long time since - Maria Julia

visited 2. May. Maria 51. 10. At home in London - Mary

visited 3. May. Maria 52. 10. At home in London - Mary

visited 4. May. Maria 53. 10. At home in London - Mary

visited 5. May. Maria 54. 10. At home in London - Mary

visited 6. May. Maria 55. 10. At home in London - Mary

visited 7. May. Maria 56. 10. At home in London - Mary

visited 8. May. Maria 57. 10. At home in London - Mary

visited 9. May. Maria 58. 10. At home in London - Mary

visited 10. May. Maria 59. 10. At home in London - Mary

visited 11. May. Maria 60. 10. At home in London - Mary

visited 12. May. Maria 61. 10. At home in London - Mary

visited 13. May. Maria 62. 10. At home in London - Mary

visited 14. May. Maria 63. 10. At home in London - Mary

visited 15. May. Maria 64. 10. At home in London - Mary

visited 16. May. Maria 65. 10. At home in London - Mary

visited 17. May. Maria 66. 10. At home in London - Mary

visited 18. May. Maria 67. 10. At home in London - Mary

visited 19. May. Maria 68. 10. At home in London - Mary

visited 20. May. Maria 69. 10. At home in London - Mary

items of news and general interest, devoting his time to spiritual matters: "It gives me great joy to address you once more; and if I could only grave on your heart some of those words which make wise unto salvation, my time and labour would be amply repaid."¹ By this means he maintained contact with his people from whom he was forced to be absent for as long as eleven months at a time. And, these letters were instrumental in continuing his peculiar ministry until the awakening of 1839.

McCheyne had decided feelings about the benefits which could be reaped in private counselling. He had felt the lack of this during his own conversion, and made it a point always to talk with any visitor to his manse. In his sermons he urged his hearers to call freely on ministers, being of much more value than many sermons. He stressed the need for brevity, however. "Tell your case. Hear his word and be gone."² The result was that he often found many inquirers--on one occasion there were seventeen--waiting for him after a day's visitation.³ His answer to whether he would see a caller while in the midst of some important work was, "Surely--what do we live for?"⁴

Outside the counselling room McCheyne took advantage of any possible situation to impress spiritual truths upon people who often were complete strangers. Whether a

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1. McCheyne, Pastoral letter, March 13, 1839, Memoir, p. 208.
 2. McCheyne, MS. Sermon, II Tim. 4:1,2, Dec. 16, 1840.
 3. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, March 22, 1837.
 4. Memoir, p. 85.

band of gypsies to whom he preached while on his way home from a late evening meeting,¹ or two quarry laborers for whom he dismounted and talked at length,² or parishioners he met on the street, he made it his business to include them as his responsibility. Once, coming to a small boy at play, he asked, "Walter, do you love your soul?" passing on without another word--the first impression upon a life which eventually led into the ministry.³ Notwithstanding his bluntness and earnestness, McCheyne, far from driving people away, was extremely well thought of. His interest in them was seen to be genuine, and was the means of bringing many into a vital Christianity.

Under McCheyne, St. Peter's became an active Church with an extensive weekly program. In this respect it was in advance of the times, as Howat noted:

Now-a-days many congregations have more agencies at work than St. Peter's had, but undoubtedly this congregation, fifty years ago, must have held quite a unique place in Scotland for the variety of its Christian enterprises, and the number of its workers; and we may look upon it as the pioneer of those latter-day working congregations . . . in Edinburgh and Glasgow.⁴

The high point of the weekly schedule was the Bible study on Thursday evening, which was well attended, with many visitors. The sanctuary was often overflowing. McCheyne was particularly pleased with these meetings, remarking: "They will doubtless

1. McCheyne, MS. letter to Sister, Aug. 8, 1836.

2. Islay Burns, Memoir of William C. Burns, p. 80.

3. John MacPherson, Revival and Revival Work, pp. 20, 21.
The boy was Walter Davidson, later of Knox Free Church, Perth.

4. Howat, op. cit., p. 96.

be remembered in eternity with songs of praise." Much of their success was due to the informality with which he conducted them, descending, as Hamilton wrote, "from the stateliness of sermons to the most familiar and affectionate and varied addresses."¹ In these meetings, McChoyne included a devotional exposition of Scripture, prayer, and then either read and commented upon the histories of revivals or took up the study of books of the Bible.² Whatever his point of departure, he invariably struck a strong evangelistic note, since he felt that so large a congregation could not be made up entirely of Christians. He noted the results of many of these meetings, e.g. "Many were deeply affected during the preaching of this discourse; especially when that head on being enemies of the cross was begun many sobbed aloud. Gloria Deo in excelsis."³

For adults smaller classes were also taught by the elders and the minister throughout the week. Because of the full schedule, it was necessary for some of these to meet after the Thursday evening meetings. A group of tract distributors also met at stated intervals for prayer and Bible study, under McChoyne's direction.⁴ As an aid to these organizations, he instituted a church library--which was still uncommon.⁵

McChoyne was particularly pleased with his class for young people past the age of the Sabbath School. Although other

1. Hamilton, in Arnot, op. cit., p. 233.

2. McChoyne, Letter to A. Bonar, in Memoir, p. 72.

3. McChoyne, MS. lecture, Phil. 3:17, July 2, 1840.

4. Hewat, op. cit., p. 96.

5. McChoyne, MS. letter to Family, Jan. 2, 1838; I. Burns, op. cit., p. 78.

churches were making similar efforts, the novelty of youth work may be seen in that it was not until 1872 that the Free Church took its first steps in creating a department for this age group.¹ At St. Peter's the meetings were on Tuesday evenings, when often 250 were present, and their continued attendance indicates McChoyne's success in communicating to them.² His main topics were the Catechism and Biblical subjects,³ and he illustrated his talks with drawings and objects of interest. Occasionally the classes were turned into informal discussions.⁴ Through his efforts a stream of young people entered the communicants' class, and became members of the Church.

A school had been erected for the children of St. Peter's so that "the blessings of religion and the benefits of knowledge may be imparted together."⁵ The top floor was used as an evening institute for working girls. Until 1874, when it was taken over by the town, the school was under the supervision of the kirk-session.⁶ Attendance in the 1830's was not compulsory, but though the greater portion of children worked in the factories, three hundred were enrolled at St. Peter's school.⁷

In religious journals the parochial schools of Dundee were often cited as good examples for the rest of the country. The

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1. J. R. Fleming, History of the Church of Scotland, I, p. 223.
 2. McChoyne, Letter to Parents, July 1, 1837; Notes passim.
 3. McChoyne, MS. Notebook VII.
 4. McChoyne, MS. letter to Wm. McChoyne, Feb. 6, 1838.
 5. Quoted from advertising circular, in Muir, op. cit., p. 5.
 6. Ibid. In 1876 the school was discontinued.
 7. McChoyne, MS. Church Extension Speech, 1843; Homo and Foreign Missionary Record, Sept. 1838, p. 74.

Presbytery maintained close contact through pastoral letters to the masters and half-yearly examinations of the pupils. In all the schools, in addition to the usual courses, the Bible was read daily and the Catechism was taught. The singing of hymns, including "a few lively tunes", was urged as a means of discipline and instruction.¹

McCheyne had a keen interest in the education of children both in the Presbytery and in his own parish. He was a leader in seeking the "best mode of promoting the interests of education," and served on several Presbytery committees to this end.² He had a high regard for educational standards, but it was with the spiritual qualifications of the teachers and the Christian nurture of the children that he was primarily concerned, stating: "The chief use of the school is to convert the souls of the children."³ Thus, while he sought teachers who possessed adequate knowledge of the subjects, his first interest was that their hearts be "touched by the spirit of God," and that they "love the souls of little children."⁴ According to the Presbytery examiner, the school was well and cheerfully taught, particularly "considering the great numbers attending."⁵

The Sunday program for children was quite full, as McCheyne

1. The Home and Foreign Missionary Record, Nov. 1841, p. 398, wrote: "We have oftener than once had occasion to advert to the zeal of the Presbytery of Dundee in the cause of education." See also Dec. 1839, p. 85, Aug. 1840, p. 204.

2. Courier, May 12, Feb. 11, 1840; Advertiser, Feb. 3, 1842.

3. McCheyne: MS. Sermon, Psalm 90:14, Dec. 1838.

4. McCheyne: Letter quoted in Memoir, p. 71. The teachers were highly regarded in Dundee. (Advertiser, May 20, 1842.)

5. D. B. Mellis: MS. Appraisal of St. Peter's, Notebook XIII.

instituted a Sabbath School in 1837.¹ In spite of an Assembly recommendation of the Sabbath School Union in 1841, many ministers were sceptical of the value of such schools, and as late as 1850 there was still opposition to them in the Free Church.² McCheyne recruited and trained his teachers, and often prepared notes for them.³ Classes were installed in various parts of the parish as teachers were found, and the average attendance in 1839 was 150.⁴ The hours of meeting were from six to eight o'clock in the evening--having been preceded, in addition to the regular services, by a children's worship service at eight o'clock in the morning.⁵ Notwithstanding McCheyne's interest in this work, he considered it to be a sign of weakness, referring to the time when "there was no need for Sabbath Schools, for every family was a Sabbath School."⁶ Yet such a program indicates his concern for Christian nurture. Returning from a meeting of 400 children at Blairgowrie he wrote: "I never did see so pleasing a sight. I do not remember ever spending a happier evening. Indeed many things made the tears come to my eyes. . . I wish we could have something as good in Dundee."⁷

1. McCheyne, MS. letter to Parents, July 1, 1837.

2. Norman Walker, Chapters from the History of the Free Church of Scotland, p. 203.

3. McCheyne, Letter to Sabbath School Teachers, Feb. 24, 1841, Memoir, p. 258; Hewat, op. cit., p. 98.

4. Edward Caird, MS. letter to McCheyne, March 12, 1839.

5. Hewat, op. cit., p. 96. G. D. Henderson, Heritage: A Study of the Disruption, p. 49, refers to the need of Sabbath Schools because of "vast multitudes of young people being openly observed on the Sunday evening abandoned to their own control."

6. McCheyne, MS. Sermon, Rev. 3:7-13, 1838.

7. McCheyne, MS. letter to Parents, Jan. 19, 1838.

He urged his teachers to "seek after the lambs on the week days" to prove their genuine interest, since "to bring one child to the bosom of Christ would be a reward for all our pains in Eternity."¹

In his teachings and writings for children, McCheyne described sin and death, heaven and hell much more vividly than would be thought suitable today. Yet he had a definite reason for doing so--he had seen many children die, and the epidemics which continually swept through the town brought death near to every child: "More than one-half of the human race die before they reach manhood. In the city of Glasgow alone, more than one-half of the people die before the age of twenty."² Thus he felt that he must add evangelistic appeal to Christian nurture. One tract, beginning: "How many friends have you lying in the grave?" continued:

It is an absolute certainty that, in a few years, all of you who read this will be lying in the grave. Oh, what need, then, to fly to Christ without delay! How great a work you have to do! How short a time you have to do it in! You have to flee from the wrath--to come to Christ--to be born again--to receive the Holy Spirit--to be made meet for glory. It is high time that you seek the Lord. The longest life-time is short enough. Seek conviction of sin and an interest in Christ!³

He impressed upon them the fact that they--no matter how young--were sinners. This was essential: "The greatest want in the religion of children is generally sense of sin. . . we are so often deceived by promising appearances in childhood.

1. McCheyne, MS. letter to Church Workers, Feb. 24, 1841.

2. McCheyne, "Reasons Why Children Should Fly to Christ Without Delay," in Memoir, p. 535.

3. Ibid.

The reality of grace in a child is best known by his sense of sin."¹ He singled out their possible sins, asserting that if they died in them, they would surely go to hell. While many people abhorred such teaching, he insisted to the children: "You are not too young to die, not too young to be judged, and therefore not too young to be brought to Christ."²

To remedy their need, he pointed them to the Good Shepherd, who exhibited His love in dying for, seeking, and feeding the lambs. They were urged to receive Him:

Would you wish to be gathered thus? Go now to some lonely place--kneel down, and call upon the Lord Jesus. Do not leave your knees until you find Him. Pray to be gathered with His arm, and carried in His bosom. Take hold of the hem of His garment, and say, "I must not--I dare not--I will not let Thee go except Thou bless me."³

These words and ideas would seem to be too deep for little children. Beyond the mechanics of reading, the theological terminology and Biblical concepts appear to be beyond their grasp. Yet McCheyne argued: "God can convert and edify a child with the same ease with which He can change the heart of a grown man," and that by the grace of God a child "can understand and relish divine things as fully as those of mature age."⁴ He quoted a twelve year old boy's description of his conversion, indicating his understanding:

Well, I believe that Jesus died for me, for I am a poor hell-deserving sinner. I have been praying all this afternoon, that when Jesus shed His

1. McCheyne, "Another Lily Gathered," Memoir, p. 510.

2. McCheyne, "To the Lambs of the Flock," Memoir, p. 566.

3. Ibid., p. 567.

4. McCheyne, "Another Lily," op. cit., pp. 518, 519.

blood for sinners, He would sprinkle some of it upon me, and He did it. . . I'm not afraid to die now, for Jesus has died for me.¹

Elsewhere McCheyne told of a four year old girl who came to him to learn "the way to be saved," having cried the night before "about her soul."² Armed with many such cases, he felt justified in speaking directly and maturely to children:

I am glad, my dear boy, you think that God is afflicting you to bring you to Himself. It is really for this that He smites you. His heart, His hand, His rod are all inscribed with love. But then, see that He does bring you to Himself. Do not delay. The lake of fire and brimstone stretches beneath every soul that lives in sin.³

But the motivation for his appeal was love: "Children, bear with the words of your minister--they are meant in love.

Often they seem harsh to you, and yet you are in our hearts to live and die with you. . ."⁴

McCheyne also wrote poems and hymns for children, some of which were used to aid in Bible teaching, while others reflected his evangelistic urgings:

Like mist on the mountain, like ships on the sea,
So swiftly the years of our pilgrimage flee;
In the grave of our fathers how soon we shall lie!
Dear children, today to a Saviour fly.⁵

McCheyne's kirk-session, as a whole, was sympathetic to his ideas and program. At the founding of the parish, ten elders had been appointed from the parent church, and as his reputation spread, other men were also attracted, who soon

1. Ibid., p. 505.

2. McCheyne, Letter to J. Thain, Jan. 27, 1842, Memoir, p. 274.

3. Ibid., p. 273.

4. McCheyne, MS. Sermon, I Pot. 2:11, 1838.

5. McCheyne, "Children Called to Christ," Memoir, p. 587.

took their places on the enlarged board. He insisted upon high qualifications and definite duties for his elders, so that his kirk-session became important as a pastoral instrument. Elders, he said, ought to be public spirited men of piety, prudence, and good sense, who were sound in faith and strong in prayer. It was essential that they be well established in the Christian life, for they were expected to perform almost the same functions as the minister.¹ Through his emphasis of the grave responsibility of the office, several elders-elect were hesitant and accepted only after much urging.²

The duties of elders were divided into two categories: personal and official. A private and home life above reproach was basic to the responsibilities in which the elder was called to sit in judgment and give counsel.³ Officially, in addition to membership on the Church courts, elders were to exercise a genuine spiritual leadership along the lines of the New Testament Church. Most of them were successful businessmen; some were civic leaders. Yet they strenuously applied themselves to their spiritual tasks, not only as teachers and visitors within their own parochial districts,⁴ but also as evangelists and leaders in contemporary ecclesiastical issues. Some idea of the wide extent of their labors

1. McCheyne, MS. "The Name Elder," Notebook XIX.

2. A. Nielson, MS. letter to McCheyne, March 9, 1840; Hewat, op. cit., pp. 107 ff.

3. McCheyne, "The Name Elder," loc. cit.

4. BDES, III, p. 3; Memoir, p. 70.

is seen in the work of William Lamb, a prosperous grain merchant and shipper, and Andrew Nielson on the waterfront; and the leadership of Patrick Thoms, an influential city banker, and Baillie John Thain, a ship owner,¹ in Sabbath observance and non-intrusion societies.²

As his ministry progressed, McChayne came to a greater realization of the kirk-session as a disciplinary body. While such action still occurred in the Church courts--especially offences of immoral nature--it was not as common as in the preceding century.³ McChayne grew up with this trend, but later admitted that he had mistakenly overlooked the importance of discipline:

I now feel very deeply persuaded that both are of God--that two keys are committed to us by Christ, the one the key of doctrine, . . . the other the key of discipline, by which we open or shut the way to the sealing ordinances of the faith. Both are Christ's gift, and neither is to be resigned without sin.⁴

Thus he began to stress the responsibility of the kirk-session to judge the fitness of communicants and to admonish and rebuke sin. Discipline, however, was to be used primarily to show the non-Christian or the offender wherein he was lacking or guilty, in the hope that he would make the necessary adjustment. Concerning the sacraments, McChayne regarded the Bible to teach that it was the individual himself

1. Dundee Advertiser, Nov. 25, 1836; Dec. 22, 1837.

2. Hewat, op. cit., pp. 21, 135; Nielson: MS. letter to McChayne, Jan. 22, 1839; The Witness, Feb. 5, 1840; J. Thain: MS. letter to McChayne, Feb. 22, 1842.

3. J. T. McNeill, A History of the Cure of Souls, p. 259.

4. McChayne, quoted in Memoir, p. 82.

who should finally decide as to his worthiness to partake.¹
 But he did feel that the kirk-session ought to take a greater part in admittance to the Lord's Supper, to deter those whose professions were not credible or who were living openly in sin.²

Through his close work with the kirk-session, McChayne was able to instruct its members, so that they in turn were more effective in their parochial duties. Their regard for him and his leadership is seen in a declaration of their intentions concerning the impending schism in the 1840's:

We avail ourselves of this occasion to express our attachment to the ministry of our pastor. . . For his abundant and devoted labours amongst us, we feel deeply grateful. We have ourselves, we trust, profitted by those labours; and we believe that the Chief Shepherd has honoured him to gather out of the flock over which he has been placed many who shall be to him a crown of rejoicing in the day of the Lord. We are enabled also to assure him of the unshaken attachment of his Congregation. . . 3

To his people in general, McChayne gave frequent caution and instruction regarding the sacraments. He defined the meaning of baptism during each baptismal service, stressing that it was only for believers and their children, and that the use of water was of no value to non-believers.⁴ In spite of his teachings, however, he found that many persisted in holding views which he regarded to be superstitious. On occasion he refused baptism to infants of non-Christians, for which he was bitterly reproached, particularly when the child

1. Memoir, p. 81.

2. McChayne, noted in Hewat, op. cit., p. 100.

3. St. Peter's Kirk-Session, MS. "Declaration," Dec. 1842.

4. McChayne, MS. Form of Baptism.

was dying.¹ While his position might be regarded to have done more harm than good, it must be admitted that McChayne's stand was based on a high view of the condition of the heart in regard to this outward sign.

McChayne was able to exercise more guidance and control in regard to the Lord's Supper. From the beginning of his ministry he carefully instructed what were considered to be large classes in the origin and meaning of Communion.² One who had gone through this class later wrote of McChayne's serious dealing with young communicants and the "solemn manner in which he put their first tokens in their hands."³ So keenly did McChayne feel about preparation for Communion that he compiled extensive outlines for his classes, and published a tract for further instruction.⁴

In determining the maturity and readiness of his young communicants, McChayne made much use of the question and answer method. "This is the season," he wrote, "when a minister comes to know the fruit of his ministry."⁵ A set of questions was also used as a means to enable them to search their own motives and intentions--"to be answered in secret to God."⁶ Often only less than half of the

1. Memoir, p. 82.

2. McChayne, MS. letter to Family, March 22, 1837. At this particular time there were 37 young communicants.

3. History of St. Peter's Free Church, op. cit., p. 8. The average age of the students was between 17 and 18. Most were girls, although there was also a large number of boys. (See Notebook II.)

4. See MS. Notebook VII, passim; also "This Do in Remembrance of Me," Oct. 1841, Memoir, pp. 519-527.

5. McChayne, MS. letter to Family, April 20, 1838.

6. McChayne, "This Do," Memoir, p. 526.

communicants' class were allowed to proceed to the Lord's Table. So solemn were McCheyne's words that many chose to remain behind for a time. Generally, through his interviews, he was able to ascertain their preparedness, e.g.

Jane Graham--admitted under Mr. Jaffray--when careless--now deeply awakened--under my ministry and Jessy Small's words. Would not come forward--in deep distress.

Thomas Ritchie--awakened under my ministry in St. Peter's ever since he came a twelvemonth ago from Kilspindie. Fine clear knowledge and seemingly heart grasp of the truth. Admitted.¹

McCheyne's concern for the material and physical needs of his people was less prominent than for their spiritual well-being. His lack of social consciousness, however, was only typical of the Church in which he labored. R. W. Dale noted the emphasis upon the individual as one of the marks of the Evangelical movement, in which little was said about the individual's relation to the general order of human society.² In the first half of the nineteenth century, efforts toward social improvement were only isolated attempts which failed to rally popular support or to get to the source of the problem. The work of Henry Duncan to alleviate poverty and ignorance in his parish typified several solitary efforts in Scotland. In Glasgow, Chalmers, who was years ahead of other churchmen in realizing the significance of the Industrial Revolution for the country,³ awakened the

1. McCheyne, MS. Notebook VII, passim.

2. Dale, op. cit., p. 18.

3. Campbell, op. cit., p. 178.

city and Church to what might be done in the care of the poor. But even he did not deal with basic conditions so much as with the resultant poverty and its amelioration,¹ and it was his own driving personality which gave it the success it had.²

That Chalmers and Duncan were not typical of the Evangelicals--if not the whole Church--can be seen in that it was not until well into the 1850's that organized concern for social problems was realized in the churches, and even then it was opposed.³ In 1846 the Free Church went on record to refrain from "expressing any opinion on the factory bills which have been before Parliament."⁴ The Poor Law of 1845 put an end to Chalmers' vision, as the care of the poor passed from the kirk-sessions to the secular government.⁵ In spite of Chalmers' work in St. John's parish, it was ten years before the Free Church began its evangelization of the nearby Wynds.⁶

Thus, it is not strange that McChesney demonstrated the same unmethodical social concern. This was not due to his comfortable background, nor distaste for contact with poverty.

1. Ibid., p. 181. Campbell observed that Chalmers "dealt not with poverty, but with pauperism."

2. Fleming, op. cit., p. 3. This attempt, according to Fleming, "remained a solitary and incomplete experiment," the hopes of which were dampened by the Disruption.

3. Ibid., p. 149. In 1885, W. G. Blaikie, (For the Work of the Ministry, p. 234), could only say that it was "not inappropriate" for a minister to promote human welfare.

4. Quoted in Fleming, op. cit., p. 99.

5. Campbell, op. cit., p. 278.

6. Fleming, op. cit., p. 142.

His entire ministry was among the laboring classes in industrial centers, and he repeatedly refused calls to more leisurely rural parishes. His heart went out to the poor and the unfortunate:

This is what we need in this town--a ministry that will go to seek the people. We need men with the compassion of Christ who will leave home, friends, comforts all behind and go into the haunts of profligacy--the dens of the Cowgate--and with the love and life of Jesus persuade them to turn and not die.¹

What, then, was the cause of McChoyne's--and the Evangelicals'--backwardness regarding social welfare? It was essentially, if not entirely, theological. Campbell stated:

Evangelicalism taught that the first duty of man was to concentrate upon his own personal salvation. . . This world was of no real importance; and therefore Evangelicalism, though abounding in philanthropy, had no social message.²

McChoyne's otherworldly desire--his yearning to have done with life and to be with Christ--has been noted. The second coming of Christ was imminent, and life at best was short; it was imperative to be ready. Social difficulties would be resolved through the conversion of individuals, so it was of greater importance to concentrate on evangelism instead of social reform. In fact, "socialism" was listed with "the theatre" and "the ball room" as belonging to Satan.³

Poverty itself, in an age when the idea of a vengeful God

1. McChoyne, MS. sermon, Mark 16:15, 1840.

2. Campbell, op. cit., p. 172.

3. McChoyne, MS. sermons, I Pet. 5:7-9, Mark 16:15, 1840.

had more standing than it does today, was seen to be due to a lack of godliness. Expressions as: "The poverty caused by the visitation of God. . ." and "The poor whom God has given . . ."¹ were common. Yet it is startling to read McChayne's more extreme words about the cause and remedy of poverty:

This town in special manner has been visited by commercial distress--poverty, one of the sorest curses that God sends, lies heavy on us. Even for that it becomes us to mourn and lie in the dust. It has been an objection to our fast--that our people are poor and cannot afford a day from their work. I answer, this very poverty is a call to set apart a reason for humbling--and God may lift away the stroke. . . . Oh, if you will not listen in time of trouble, when will you listen? God may say I will never forgive you. To speak plainly, dear friends, I have no confidence in poor laws or any change in our laws benefitting the poor--as long as we lie under God's displeasure.²

Generally, McChayne summed up the Evangelical position in a visitation report:

26 September, 1838--Wife and seven children--sadly reduced by poverty. Spoke on God feeding the ravens and clothing the lilies. . .³

There is no record of financial or material assistance given.

This is not to indicate that McChayne paid no heed whatever to the poor of his parish, or to humanitarian improvement in general. He had been too closely associated with Duncan and Chalmers to have had no social conscience. And now, two of his closest colleagues were John Roxburgh and George Lewis, who were outstanding for their efforts in this regard. Roxburgh had been a probationer in Glasgow's Cowcaddens, and was the first parochial missionary in the Church of Scotland.

1. Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

2. McChayne, MS. sermon, Isaiah 22:12-14, May 7, 1840. (Italics ours.)

3. McChayne, MS. visitation notes, Notebook X, p. 360.

While assistant at St. George's, Edinburgh, he had become personally acquainted with Chalmers.¹ Later, as convener of the Free Church Home Mission Committee, he was among the first to grasp the urban industrial problem and the need for social reform.² Lewis, minister of St. David's, wrote extensively about the conditions of his parish--the poorest and most wicked in town--and of Dundee as a whole.³ Through his contact with these men, McCheyne was made aware of the needs and problems of industrial Dundee.

Although not as organized as Duncan and Lewis, nor as farsighted as Roxburgh and Chalmers, he attended to specific problems as they arose. His attitude, typical of his time, was similar to that of Irving, who, lacking a deep theory concerning the origin of social problems, "was only aware of human need, and he went in and out of the three hundred families whose pastoral care he had undertaken."⁴ There is evidence of McCheyne's concern for the blind,⁵ of his interest in Lord Shaftesbury's Mines Act of 1842,⁶ of his condemnation of slave trading,⁷ and even of his care for animals.⁸ As an

1. Thomas Brown, Annals of the Disruption, pp. 15, 16.

2. Fleming, op. cit., pp. 149-153.

3. Cf. Lewis, St. David's Parish, and The Pauper Bill of Dundee. It is noteworthy that even Lewis focused his attention on the amount of money which was wasted in vice, liquor, etc., relegating to a secondary position the effect of such conditions upon human lives.

4. Drummond, op. cit., p. 34.

5. McCheyne, MS. letter to blind relief society, n.d.

6. J. Gibson, MS. letter to McCheyne, March 14, 1843; G. H. Trevelyan, English Social History, p. 549.

7. McCheyne, sermon, Luke 22:31, 32, in Hugh Miller, ed., Sermons for Sabbath Evenings, p. 337.

8. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Num. 22:32, March, 1837.

attempt to alleviate the dearth of domestic training due to the long hours in the mills, his school was equipped with evening classes for girls.¹ A special interest was taken in orphans, for whom he collected funds² and wrote an "Orphans' Hymn", depicting God as their "Father--Mother--Friend."³

His sermons frequently exhorted a love to Christ by attending to the needs at least of the Christian poor, who "stand in the place of Christ. . . Do you live plainly to have more to give away?"⁴ Christ was referred to as "the poor man's Saviour,"⁵ and the poor were urged not to stay away from services because of lack of clothes or social standing. During a particularly severe winter, he devoted his communion action sermon to charity--"to get coals for the poor of St. Peter's."⁶

Yet McCheyne's concern was essentially for that which he could find Biblical direction. In the above sermon on charity, his only argument for giving was the command of Christ, and his thesis was remarkable for its preoccupation with the reward of the giver--with scarcely anything said about the existing need. On one occasion he came close to painting the plight of the indigent--only to revert quickly to the donor:

Your haughty dwelling rises in the midst of thousands who have scarce a fire to warm themselves at; and have but little clothing to keep out the biting frost; and yet you have never darkened their door. You heave

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1. John Muir, op. cit., p. 5.
 2. McCheyne, MS. Notebook X, p. 1, "Orphans to School."
 3. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, May 13, 1835.
 4. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Mark 14:8, April 26, 1842.
 5. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Luke 16:19, Aug. 1840.
 6. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Acts 20:35, Feb. 4, 1838. The sum of twenty pounds was raised. (Advertiser, Feb. 9, 1838.)

a sigh, perhaps, at a distance, but you do not visit them. Ah, my dear friends! I am concerned for the poor; but more for you. . . It is not your money I want, but your happiness.¹

Further, his thought was revealed through his sweeping statements indicating the poor to be necessarily iniquitous. Occasionally he referred to some Christian poor, who were to be treated as Christ should be treated. Essentially, however, the poor were obdurate. He tacitly concurred with those who might argue that the poor were wicked abusers of money, by pointing out that it was for such wicked and undeserving people that Christ gave Himself. He became more explicit, saying: "If you would be like Christ, give much--give often--give freely, to the vile and the poor--the thankless and undeserving."²

Rather than crusade for social reform, McChoyne, in this "age of Societies for all kinds of good objects,"³ gave his time to many interdenominational groups concerned with evangelism and orthodoxy. He was a keen supporter of the Dundee Tract Society, for which he wrote pamphlets for distribution. Although describing this work "a lowly occupation," he stated that "an angel would not despise it,"⁴ and often used tracts to open the conversation with travelling companions.⁵ Through the Society, every house was canvassed in Dundee and the surrounding towns, and in one year almost 200,000 tracts were

1. McChoyne, MS. Sermon, Acts 20:35. (Italics ours)

2. Ibid.

3. John Macleod, Scottish Theology, p. 256.

4. McChoyne, MS. speech to Tract Society, Ap. 21, 1841.

5. Memoir, p. 83.

distributed.¹

McCheyne was one of the leaders of the Dundee Seamen's Society, and frequently preached at the docks to large crowds.² He and six of his elders were on the thirteen-man building committee to erect a Mariners' Chapel for the worship and headquarters of the Society which worked among the seafaring community of six thousand sailors-and-families.³ In 1838 a chaplain was appointed to maintain a consistent ministry in the town and harbor.⁴

McCheyne helped to revive the dormant Dundee Protestant Association, and, along with William Cunningham, was a speaker at the opening meeting, where he stated: "It is sinful and dangerous for any community to contribute to uphold popery, or for kingdoms to allow it to gain ascendancy."⁵ He vehemently opposed this system, and made every opportunity to speak against it. He felt assured, however, that its destruction-- "amid the hallelujahs of heaven"--was certain.⁶

McCheyne was also conspicuous in other groups, such as the Indigent Sick Society⁷ and the Dundee Juvenile Bible and Missionary Society.⁸ Many of these agencies met in St. Peter's from time to time and supplemented McCheyne's own work in the parish as well as in the town.

1. Dundee Advertiser, Feb. 4, 1842.

2. Memoir, p. 91.

3. HMFR, Nov. 1840, p. 240; Dundee Courier, Dec. 3, 1839.

4. James Law, MS. letter to McCheyne, Feb. 6, 1839. Law, the chaplain, later became noted for his "remarkable eccentricities"--by joining and leaving several denominations. (Norrie, op. cit., pp. 185-190; Fasti, V, pp. 336, 427.)

5. McCheyne, quoted in Advertiser, Dec. 4, 1840.

6. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Nov. 21:6-8, Aug. 30, 1840.

7. Dundee Advertiser, April 28, 1837.

8. Ibid., Dec. 21, 1838.

By means of his pen, McChesney's ministry was extended throughout Scotland and into England. To the vast melange of newspapers and pamphlets circulating at that time all over the land,¹ he contributed devotional and polemical works, and tracts and articles of popular religious interest, which, although not exceedingly voluminous, were widely read. He readily recognized the value of the press in the Church's warfare: "The newspaper is one of the most extraordinary channels either of good or evil," although he lamented that it was all too often "one of Satan's prime channels."² His ability in this respect is seen in that few ministers as young as he had begun to write, and fewer still were commended so highly. In the Church's publications--especially of the Evangelical party--his name often appeared in company with Candlish, Muir, Gordon, Duncan, Cunningham, and other elder leaders, while most of the names of his own generation were yet to be heard. The Witness, official Evangelical organ, under Hugh Miller, contrary to its usual procedure drew attention to one long article by McChesney:

We beg to refer to a most admirable letter on Sabbath sanctification by Mr. McChesney, which we print in another column. The letter is essentially marked by that engagingness, which so remarkably characterizes both Mr. McChesney's writing and his speaking, and will be read with heart-felt pleasure by all whose hearts the delight of the Sabbath has entered.³

In 1836 McChesney began writing for publication in the

1. Fleming, op. cit., pp. 6, 7.

2. McChesney, MS. sermon, Is. 22:12-14, May 7, 1840.

3. The Witness, Jan. 15, 1842.

Scottish Christian Herald, a weekly magazine issued by ministers of the Established Church, with Candlish as editor, intended to "infuse a religious leaven into the mass of the people."¹ At Larbert, however, he found that the motives of this enterprise were questioned: "The Carron men have condemned the paper as a job of the ministers to make money."² He contributed an article to the initial number,³ and from then on sent Candlish other poems and works on topics of general interest as church music, conversion, and mission intelligence. During the first year of publication, he was one of the four leading contributors, although he was barely twenty-four, and as yet unordained.

In the early 1840's, McCheyne assisted in a devotional book by 180 ministers of the Church of Scotland, entitled Family Worship. This was followed by The Christian's Daily Companion,⁴ in which McCheyne was the youngest of thirty-one contributors, including the historians Robert Buchanan and William Hetherington, and Henry Cooke, Irish Presbyterian leader. These publications met with some opposition as being steps toward formal liturgy. One journal wrote that the contributors to Family Worship "have acted in a very inconsistent

1. Candlish, quoted in Wm. Wilson, Memorials of Robert Smith Candlish, p.74.

2. McCheyne, MS. letter to Father, March 9, 1836. His judgment of the first issue was: "Rather dry. The look of it is not interesting."

3. McCheyne, "Missions," in The Scottish Christian Herald, March 5, 1836, pp. 10-12.

4. James Gibson (ed.), Family Worship, 1841; Nathaniel Peterson (ed.), The Christian's Daily Companion, 1843.

and unpresbyterian way," in issuing this "handmaid of formality."¹

McChoyne's subject matter was varied by the assigned texts to include theological and evangelistic topics as well as devotional thoughts. Together with his articles for the morning and evening of each day were long and complete prayers, showing his readiness to lead his people in a prepared form. One of his friends praised these articles: "I like them better than anything I have seen from your pen. May they be the means of winning many souls. . ."²

McChoyne's argumentative--and at times indignant--nature was given expression through the medium of the newspaper. He corresponded with the Northern Warder, the only Dundee paper sympathetic to the non-intrusion cause, on current topics such as communion with members of other denominations. But it was in The Witness that his most striking and vehement articles appeared. Here he was concerned primarily with Sabbath observance, which was one of the most significant controversies during this period (up to 1865),³ and which centered around

1. Presbyterian Review, April, 1841, pp. 118, 119: "We hope that this volume is not succeeded by a church liturgy, or a closet liturgy. Do we need books to teach us to pray, either in the closet, the family, or the pulpit. . .?" In reply, Gibson, a thorough Evangelical and opponent of innovations, stated: "There is, however, in this country. . . a very unreasonable prejudice against the use of forms in all circumstances. . . We need not refer to the form left by our Lord as an example of such a practice. . . What are the Apostolic Benedictions but forms of prayer." (Quoted in W. McMillan (ed.), One Hundred Scottish Prayers, p. 111.)

2. W. C. Burns, MS. letter to McChoyne, Sept. 21, 1841.

3. Fleming, op. cit., p. 212.

the use of the railways on Sunday.¹

Except for posthumous publications of his works, most of McCheyne's writings were of contemporary value only, and enjoy no lasting significance. Many of his articles were re-published in tract form and circulated during his life-time, and some of his sermons and letters were later collected into volumes. Except for the Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews, written with Andrew Bonar, he wrote no books. Yet it is surprising that so young a parish minister found time to write as much as he did. Bonar mentioned that McCheyne could easily have devoted his time to writing and thereby gained a name for himself, but that he laid all else aside to concentrate on the spoken word.² Even so, the notability of his compositions has been shown by Campbell: "His writings are now unknown; but for a generation and more they were classics among the Evangelicals, and were sold in thousands."³ Through this means, his influence was extended far beyond his parish.

Before long McCheyne's reputation had spread so that in less than a year he received three calls from other churches, which were followed by others throughout his life from such places as Skirling; St. Leonard's, Edinburgh; St. Martin's near Perth; and Kettle--their attractions being their rural settings and advantages for study, their increased emoluments, or their nearness to his family. But McCheyne, whose philosophy

1. Vide infra.

2. Memoir, p. 80.

3. Campbell, op. cit., p. 243.

in this regard was stated: "It has always been my aim, and it is my prayer, to have no plans with regard to myself--assured as I am, that the place where the Saviour sees meet to place me must ever be the best place for me,"¹ felt his call to Dundee to be clearly from God, since he had not even heard of St. Peter's until invited to preach there. Thus he stated: "I have been asked to leave this place again and again, but have never seen my way clear to do so."²

The best example of his dealings in these situations is seen in the offer of Skirling parish in January, 1837, by its patron, Sir Thomas Carmichael. Beside the rural advantages, there was the fact that this church enjoyed full parochial status. The only stipulation in the call was that McCheyne refrain from taking any active part against the political campaign of the patron's son, who was a Liberal candidate to represent the county.³ Replying to this offer, McCheyne commented upon its appeal, but argued:

Still. . . I am here. I did not bring myself here. I did not ask to be made a candidate in this place. I was hardly willing to be a candidate. I did not expect success, nor was I in the least anxious for it. I was happy at Larbert as the day was long. And yet God turned the hearts of this people toward me like the heart of one man. . . Is it presumptuous to think that

1. McCheyne, letter dated 1835, Memoir, p. 43.

2. McCheyne, letter dated Dec. 24, 1841, Memoir, p. 147.

3. Lady Carmichael, MS. letter to McCheyne, Jan. 20, 1837. This letter was such that McCheyne wrote to his family: "Pray for me that I may not be hurt by flattery, for it is hard to bear all this carressing." His youthful dependence on his family is seen as he asked: "How should I address my Lady? She calls me Dear Sir. Should I call her Dear Madam and Your Ladyship?" (MS. letter to Father, Jan. 23, 1837.)

this call was not of man, neither by men, but by the Great Master Himself--just as plainly as if He had said, This is your corner of the vineyard.

The size of the parishes was also to be considered: "When I remember that I would be exchanging thousands for hundreds, that I would be leaving a Sabbath audience of 1100 for one of 150, I could not feel that I would ask God's blessing on the change." And noting "an awakened look about my people," he was more strongly convinced that he had been placed there for a reason:

You cannot imagine--unless you knew how rural my tastes are--how suitable to my nature this change would have been. And yet God has seen fit to place me here--among the bustling artisans and the political manufacturers of Dundee. . . Perhaps He will make this wilderness of chimney tops to be green and beautiful as the garden of the Lord.¹

The reaction of his people was interesting. At first many were surprised that a minister would refuse a larger salary when it was in his grasp, for "Mammon is the God here, and any affront paid to him sets his worshippers awondering."² Later, however, they supported him, being unwilling for him to leave. One woman told a pulpit committee as it was leaving the church: "Surely ye canna expect the blessing o' God coming on such an orrand!"³

McCheyne's family, notwithstanding Candlish's opinion that Robert should stay in Dundee, were united in wanting him to go to a more leisurely parish, and it was some time before

1. McChoyne, MS. letters to Lady Carmichael, Jan. 30, 1837, and to Father, June 19, 1837.

2. McCheyne, MS. letter to Father, Jan. 30, 1837.

3. McCheyne, MS. letter to Parents, July 1, 1837.

they "let Skirling rest in its grave." Because of this, McCheyne goodnaturedly chided: "Dear Mamma, you will just make up your mind to let me be murdered along the lanes of Dundee, instead of seeing me fattening on the green globes of Skirling."¹ It was not until June 1837 that Sir Thomas secured a presentee, William Hanna, son-in-law of Chalmers.²

McCheyne's unwavering reluctance to leave St. Peter's is remarkable, because of his confidence that this was the place where God wanted him to be. From the beginning he sensed "a more eventful path,"³ in which his parish would become "a field which the Lord hath blessed."⁴ And in the light of the awakening which took place during the next several years, it must have been with particular satisfaction that he wrote in 1841: "Happy the pastor who allows no hand but Christ's to place or to remove Him. . . . It is Christ alone who gives ministers all their success."⁵

The tenor of McCheyne's ministry was necessarily practical rather than scholarly. According to Moody Stuart, he "liked all that was practical; practical in theology, practical in spiritual exercise, practical in dealing with conscience, practical in duty."⁶ McCheyne felt his work in industrial Dundee to be the spiritual improvement of his parishioners, for whom he must sacrifice intellectual pursuits and personal

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1. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, April 17, 1837.
 2. Skirling Kirk-Session Records, II, 1765-1853, p. 272.
 3. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, Nov. 30, 1836.
 4. McCheyne, MS. letter to Lady Carmichael, Jan. 30, 1837.
 5. McCheyne, in The Christian's Daily Companion, p. 290.
 6. A. Moody Stuart, recollections of John Duncan, p. 49.

desires regarding study: "He will make me a practical divine which after all is better than a learned divine."¹

His goal, therefore, as a pastor, was to attend to the evangelization and conversion of the people of St. Peter's parish, and of Dundee as a whole. Notwithstanding his lack of awareness concerning the psychological and social involvements which did not come to the fore until later in the century, he was fired by a lively concern for his people and their eternal welfare. In all his pastoral duties, both public and private, and through the church agencies and societies, he endeavored to make this clear to them. One journal described the greater respect for the Sabbath and the lessening of vice and open wickedness which resulted from McCheyne's pastoral assiduity.²

The effects of McCheyne's personal labors in the parish, and their relation to his pulpit ministry, were portrayed:

The manifestations of earnest, tender, indefatigable solicitude for the spiritual interests of the community among which he was placed, could not but be felt and appreciated, and the multitudes that repaired to his ministrations on the Sabbath soon became permanent members of his flock, arrested as they were by the unction of his preaching, so correspondent to his whole character and actions . . .³

And coupled with his preaching, McCheyne's pastoral exertions were effective to the extent of a wide-spread awakening in which St. Peter's thrived as one of the primary and most fruitful centers.

1. McCheyne, MS. letter to Lady Carmichael, loc. cit.

2. HFMR, Sept. 1839, p. 41.

3. BDES, III, p. 3.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE PREACHER IN HIS PULPIT

(1836-1843)

Oh that God would baptize us this day with the Holy Ghost and with fire that we might be all changed as into a flame of fire, preaching and building up Christ's church till our latest, our dying hour.

--II Timothy 4:1, 2
December 16, 1840

It is not once in a hundred sermons that we speak rightly of Christ.

--Psalm 119:18

THE PREACHER IN HIS PULPIT

A. Sermon Preparation and Delivery

"In no country," wrote W. G. Blaikie, "has the pulpit of the Reformed Church taken a firmer hold of the people than in Scotland."¹ Traditionally, preaching has been one of the primary agents for moulding both the spiritual and secular aspects of Scottish life. Not always of a refined character or comprehensive thought, it has been distinguished for its fearlessness and power in denouncing the world's injustices and in setting forth the chief end of man.

By the time Robert McChesney began his pulpit ministry in 1836, Scottish preaching had turned full cycle. The cultured and ethical discourses of the eighteenth century Moderates were superseded by the dogmatic and spiritual preaching of the Evangelical Revival.² This return was largely the result of Andrew Thomson and Thomas Chalmers, who both combined the beauty of the Moderate style with the dynamic of the Evangelical. Of Thomson, who was known for his power of oratory and his ability to hold audiences spell-bound for hours at a time by his use of humor, imagery, and vehemence, it was said: "He brought back culture into the pulpit without in the least

1. William Garden Blaikie, The Preachers of Scotland, p. 1.
2. Fleming, History, p. 108.

degree obscuring the cross."¹ Thomson was only surpassed in brilliance by the "irresistible oratory"² of Thomas Chalmers, who has been hailed as "the greatest Presbyterian preacher of the age."³ In spite of his provincial accent and his proclivity (like Thomson) to read from manuscript, Chalmers expertly combined exposition, illustration, and application, so that, aided by his vitality and earnestness, which gathered momentum as he progressed, he was able effectively to carry his hearers along with him and move them to action.

Not so influential, but outstanding contemporaries of Thomson and Chalmers, were: John Brown, the Secession Church's "finest scholar and expositor,"⁴ whose vehemence at times approached that of Chalmers, but who was far more renowned for his instructive and interpretative discourses; Edward Irving, whose voice and eloquence were combined with studied affectations to sway tremendous (and influential) crowds;⁵ Robert Candlish, who, although awkward in the pulpit, also contributed to the return of imaginative expository preaching;⁶ Robert Gordon and John Bruce, whose ministries were greatly attended by students;⁷ and Thomas Guthrie, whose pictorial and imaginative genius secured for him a hearing by many who

1. W. M. Taylor, The Scottish Pulpit from the Reformation, p. 168.

2. Ibid.

3. Edwin C. Dargan, A History of Preaching, II, p. 487.

4. Fleming, History, p. 14.

5. Blaikie, Preachers, p. 290.

6. John A. Broadus, Lectures on the History of Preaching, p. 229; Dargan, op. cit., p. 531. Concerning Candlish, Lord Cockburn wrote: ". . . as he has hitherto used it, the pulpit is not his field." (Memorials, I, p. 327.)

7. John Macleod, Scottish Theology, p. 256.

would not have heard other preachers.¹

In this group of Evangelical preachers, many of whom he had attended as a student, McCheyne took his place. Preaching was a delight to him, and he made it a rule never to refuse an invitation unless already engaged.² Throughout his ministry he spoke at least three times each week, and it was not strange for him to note: "Preached six times within these two days,"³ or to record that he spoke twenty-seven times in twenty-four days.⁴

At the outset of this study, it was not known how many of McCheyne's sermons and discourses were extant, and the total was reckoned not to have been large. Account has been made, however, of more than 450 addresses, plus references in diaries, etc. to 31 more. The great majority of extant sermons are in unpublished manuscript and outline form. Another large quantity of skeleton outlines, and notes under headings such as "Texts to Preach From" have been passed over in this tabulation due to insufficient information as to their actual use. The number of these sermons which have been published is 152; there are about 300 unpublished manuscripts.

McCheyne had the highest regard for the place of preaching in his ministry, and felt that all other labors must be subordinate to it:

The grand work of the minister, in which he is to lay out his strength of body and mind, is preaching.

1. Blaikie, Preachers, p. 292.

2. Horatius Bonar, Life of John Milne, p. 121.

3. McCheyne, diary entry for Dec. 3, 1839, Memoir, p. 13.

4. McCheyne, MS. Notebook XIII.

Weak and foolish as it may appear, this is the grand instrument which God has put into our hands, by which sinners are to be saved, saints fitted for glory... Oh! brethren, this is our great work. It is well to visit the sick, and well to educate children, and clothe the naked. It is well to attend presbyteries. It is well to write books or read them. But here is the main thing--preach the Word.¹

Further, he was strongly convinced that there was but one reason for this endeavor, as he indicated to a younger minister: "Never forget that the end of a sermon is the salvation of the people."²

He was continually disturbed by ministers who "handle the Word of God deceitfully," not showing the dangers which face the unconverted: ". . . stroking their consciences with feathers dipped in oil instead of piercing them with the sword of the Spirit." And while he felt that many were displeased because of his repeated attempts to rouse them, he assured them that "you will not thank us in eternity for rocking your cradle and lulling you asleep over the pit of hell."³

To this end, McCheyne was typical of what Blaikie designated "the old evangelical school" of preaching, which was primarily concerned with the basic elements of the Gospel and their application to the evangelization of the unconverted and the instruction of Christians. Insofar as this style was accompanied with "the genuine movement of a throbbing heart," as Blaikie stated, it was tremendously powerful; its weakness was due to the trite delivery of uninspired ministers who were unable to throw any new light onto the truth out of their own experiences.⁴

1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, II Tim. 4:1, 2, Dec. 1840.

2. McCheyne, letter to A. Gatherer, Feb. 20, 1843, Memoir, p. 291.

3. McCheyne, MS. sermon, II Cor. 4:1-6, Nov. 1841.

4. Blaikie, Preachers, p. 9.

The extent to which McChoyne's "apostolic life, character and labours" were effectively conveyed through his preaching has led one writer to describe him as "the Whitfield of Scotland."¹ A contemporary journal spoke of his method of exhibiting divine truth as being "sustained and even enhanced year after year."² This was further amplified by Blaikie as he linked McChoyne to the old Evangelical preachers:

McChoyne brought into the pulpit all the reverence for Scripture of the Reformation period; all the honour for the headship of Christ of the Covenanter struggle; all the freeness of the Gospel offer of the Marrow theology; all the bright imagery of Samuel Rutherford; all the delight of the Erskines in the fulness of Christ.³

Moreover, it was his prayer to be "a pastor who unites the deep knowledge of Edwards, the vast statements of Owen, and the vehement appeals of Richard Baxter!"⁴ In his homiletical ability was combined with true emotional fervor to produce a vibrant message which had profound influence upon the people of his parish.

McChoyne based all of his sermons on Scripture, in textual exposition. To have preached from any other source would have been considered unworthy of his calling, as he said: "I do not often speak of what is according to mere reason because our great work is to interpret Scripture, not to teach philosophy."⁵ As an "interpreter of Scripture," he regarded his source of material to be without limit, confiding: "When the Bible runs

1. EDES, III, p. 3.

2. United Secession Magazine, March, 1845, p. 134.

3. Blaikie, Preachers, p. 294.

4. McChoyne, MS. sermon, II Tim. 4:1,2, Dec. 1840.

5. McChoyne, MS. sermon, Mark 2:27, Dec. 1841.

dry, then I shall."¹ Even when preaching on special subjects his messages were predominantly textual rather than topical.

In agreement with Chalmers, and other Evangelicals, McCheyne adhered to the doctrine of divine inspiration and authority of the Scriptures. In his notebooks he recorded with approval the thoughts of others in this regard, e.g., Lamothe (1694): "Inspiration and God's voice are one,"² and Chalmers: "We hold the Bible to be perfect in language as well as in sentiment. . . I hold the Bible just as worthy of reception as if it had come borne by a seraph from the sanctuary above,"³ So McCheyne, stressing the importance of the Word in the development of Christians, affirmed: "The words of the Bible are just the breathings of God's heart."⁴

Biblical criticism was comparatively new, and Chalmers' students, while being taught its importance, were warned against having too much to do with it, lest in trying by minute study to determine "what the Bible says," they overlook "what the Bible means."⁵ William Cunningham, after Chalmers the most eminent of the Disruption theologians, has

1. McCheyne, quoted in Memoir, p. 74.

2. McCheyne, MS. "Lamothe on 'Inspiration of the New Testament,'" Notebook VII.

3. McCheyne, MS. classnotes: Chalmers on inspiration, in Notebooks VI and VII. So far as the writer can ascertain, these particular notes are not included in Chalmers' Institutes or Prolections. On the same subject Candlish said: "Can the infallible word of God be in the Bible unless the Bible itself is the infallible Word of God?" ("The Infallibility of Holy Scripture," p. 7.).

4. McCheyne, sermon, Eph. 5:25-27, Jan. 1841.

5. McCheyne, MS. "Chalmers on Biblical Criticism," Notebook VI. McCheyne also recorded Chalmers as further criticizing German scholars: "So far from being devoted to Christianity, they have laboured with all their might for its overthrow."

been cited as being ignorant of German progress in this field, and having an "uncritical view of the Bible."¹ Likewise, McCheyne and his friends, while devoting some time to this study, followed the Evangelical trend and remained somewhat aloof from it.²

Although he contended that the Bible was always the actual word of God, McCheyne also recognized the necessity of the Holy Spirit to make it meaningful:

A sword lying on the ground is a dead thing--it can do nothing. But let the warrior snatch and brandish it--it lives, it glows. So is it with the Word--in itself, or in mouths of wisest of men, it is dead. We speak, it touches not. The Spirit takes it in hand, it lives--the living Word. Nothing so dead before--nothing so living now.

He acted in consistent accord with this basis for the handling of Scripture. His thought was centered within the framework of unqualified acceptance of its authority, the validity of which he did not choose to debate (although he did admit that this view gave rise to certain points about which "it is easy to ask difficult questions"⁴). He interpreted the Scripture in a literal manner, even such parts as are generally accepted not to be thus understood. The parables, for example, were considered to have been historical fact or prophetic certainty, as he demonstrated in the story of the beggar Lazarus, who

1. Macleod, op. cit., p. 269; Fleming, op. cit., p. 160.

2. It will be remembered that the Exegetical Society, which grew out of Chalmers' suggestion, had as its main aim the study of Biblical criticism, and that its members set about this task quite thoroughly. Yet McCheyne's caution can be seen in a diary entry: "March 8, 1833--Biblical criticism. This must not supersede heart-work." (Memoir, p. 30.)

3. McCheyne, MS. sermon: I Peter 1:23-25, 1838.

4. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Matt. 27:51; April, 1838.

"had grace in his heart. Now he had been converted we do not know--perhaps he had heard a stray sermon of Christ when he was lying at some door. But he had been awakened and came creeping to the cross."¹ In his acceptance of this final authority, he could not allow for any ideas contrary to Scripture:

Perhaps the Bible may not be true. Perhaps there is no hell. Perhaps there is no Christ--perhaps there is no hereafter. Are there none of you who cover up your soul with a "perhaps." This is also a refuge of lies. For there is a hell whether you believe it or no--and there is a Saviour whether you regard him or no . . . and will you peril your soul upon a maybe?²

McCheyne considered the Scriptures to be a unity under the consistent oversight of the Holy Spirit. Each passage cast light upon the others, and all were of equal inspiration: "All, all tell of Jesus--Jesus pervades the Bible--it is the standing witness to Jesus . . . The written Word testifies of the living Word. Hence Moses will accuse you to the Father. . . ."³ His sermons were filled with references to all parts of Scripture, which he intermingled to underline and support his text.

Consistently with this view, McCheyne had no difficulty in finding the Gospel everywhere in the types and prophecies of the Old Testament. This typical approach was common in Scottish pulpits at that time,⁴ and was taught to a certain extent by Chalmers (although he deplored Irving's "violent

1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Luke 16:19-31, Aug. 1840.

2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Isaiah 23:14-18, Dec. 1839.
(Italics added.)

3. McCheyne, sermon, John 5:40, Oct. 1842; cf. G. D. Henderson, Claims, p. 23.

4. Hewat, op. cit., p. 50.

allegorizations"¹). McCheyne felt that much of the Old Testament is more understandable now than it was before Christ, so that it should be used now.² He hastened over the "primary" meaning (at times not even referring to it), and then showed its deeper spiritual significance in regard to the present hearers.

Within the context of these views regarding the literature and unity of the Scriptures, and their typical interpretation, McCheyne was a sane and responsible expositor. While some of his interpretations would be considered to be questionable today, they were mostly due to these basic premises. For example, he thought nothing of reading New Testament ideas into the minds of Old Testament characters, since God was the author of all of Scripture. Yet he avoided using texts to prove his own pre-conceived doctrines. His texts were always guided by their surrounding passages.

McCheyne made use of each section of both Testaments for his sermons and discourses. "He would be a sorry student of the Bible," he wrote, "who would not know all that God has inspired: who would not examine into the most barren chapters to collect the good for which they were intended. . ."³ Surveying his extant texts, it will be seen that he preached from the Old Testament 156 times, and 275 from the New. These figures divide into:

1. Hanna, Chalmers, III, p. 226.

2. McCheyne, MS. Notes on Catechism, Notebook VII.

3. McCheyne, letter dated June, 1836, Memoir, p. 45.

OLD TESTAMENT

Pentateuch	20
History	13
Poetry	48
Major Prophets	56
Minor Prophets	19

156

NEW TESTAMENT

Gospels	79
Acts	11
Epistles (Paul)	75
Hebrews	39
General Epistles	53
Revelation	18

275

He preached from twenty-seven of the Old Testament books, of which Isaiah (37) was the most frequent source, followed by the Psalms (22) and Song of Solomon (12). It is interesting to note that the bulk of his Old Testament preaching was based on the prophets, with their demands and appeals for a return to God for pardon, and the books of poetry, with their beautiful expressions of God's love and protection for His own. Of note is his total neglect of Ezekiel 38 and 39, and the book of Daniel with its apocalyptic message,¹ indicating the minor place he gave to this study.

McCheyne's favorite Old Testament book was the Song of Solomon, whose terms and pictures constantly found their way into his preaching about Christ. Concerning it he said: "There is no book that more thoroughly tests the depth of a man's Christianity. . . ."² In it he saw the "tenderest breathings" of the hearts of the Saviour and the believer for each other, presented in such a way that offends mere "head knowledge" and "fanciful religion." His interleaved Bible shows much study here, and James Hamilton wrote that he practically

1. G. D. Henderson, Claims, p. 23, refers to a similar tendency in Calvin.

2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Song of Solomon 6:3, 1837.

exhausted the texts of Canticles in his preaching.¹ Moody Stuart claimed to have stayed away from this book for twenty years because of the incomparable way it was handled by McCheyne.²

In the New Testament McCheyne preached from twenty-three of the books. Although he was a proficient Hebrew scholar, he used the New Testament almost twice as often as the Old. The doctrinal books of Hebrews (39), I Peter (34), and Romans (30) were his most frequent sources, although he also made extensive use of the synoptic gospels (51) and of John (28). Significantly, while the texts stressing the doctrine of justification by faith were numerous, James and its emphasis upon works was ignored (although in the Exegetical Society McCheyne had capably shown how the two concepts are complementary). Again, it is noteworthy that except for a series on the seven churches of Asia, he made comparatively little use of Revelation, preaching only once from chapter twenty.

Thus it is seen that McCheyne gave full attention to the general scope of Scripture, using its many facets to show the need for conversion and spiritual growth. In addition to this wide variety of texts, he incorporated many more into his discourses as references and illustrations, showing, as the Advertiser noted, that "his command of scriptural imagery and illustration is extensive."³

1. James Hamilton, The Witness, loc. cit.

2. Kenneth Moody Stuart, Alexander Moody Stuart, p. 119.

3. Dundee Advertiser, Sept. 2, 1836.

McCheyne was exceedingly thorough in his preparation for the pulpit, exercising the same care that was typical of his collegiate essays, and finding it as pleasant.¹ Stating: "I don't think the people are such bad judges of preaching. I find they know well when I speak well or ill,"² he considered it important that he should not preach anything for which he had not spent much time in prayer and meditation, and he made it a rule never to preach without careful study.³ During his deputation to Palestine in 1839, under the heading "Sins of Ministry" he noted the want of beginning early enough in the week so as to collect and incorporate fresh subject matter and illustrations.⁴

While most of his sermons were prepared from week to week, with specific needs and aims in mind (e.g., "When many were anxious,"⁵ and "At a time of much open sin"),⁶ many were the result of long range planning. In his notebooks, he filled numerous pages with tentative outlines and leading ideas on "texts to preach from," as such thoughts arose.⁷

Together with this, he read many theological and homiletical works, which were constant sources of ideas and illustrations. While it is true that in his last year or so he was unable to

1. McCheyne, diary entry for Nov. 14, 1833, Memoir, p. 32.

2. McCheyne, MS. letter to Father, Feb. 24, 1836.

3. Memoir, pp. 61, 73.

4. McCheyne, MS. Notebook IX, 1839. Hugh Miller (ed.) Sermons for Sabbath Evenings, 1848, (including a sermon by McCheyne among the eleven authors), wrote: "No apology whatever ought to be sustained for imperfect pulpit preparation (p. viii).

5. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Isaiah 60:8, 1837.

6. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Jer. 14:8, 9, 1837.

7. MS. Notebooks I, III, VII.

find time to do extensive reading, owing to the press of meetings and activities,¹ he had previously read widely and the effects were still felt. His notebooks abound in reading notes and lists of "Books I should get," and his sermons quote from such works. The writings of Thomas Boston, Hugh Binning, Moses Stuart, Jonathan Edwards, John Bunyan, the Henrys, John Owen, Richard Baxter, and John Calvin were highly regarded, and indicate something of this theological bent. Commentaries, which he regarded as "the indispensable things for ministers,"² were consulted regularly, e. g., Horsley on Psalms, Lowth on the Prophets, Fry on the Canticles, Luther on Galatians, Quesnel on the Gospels, Calvin and Matthew Henry. Together with his study of the Scriptures, these works formed a storehouse from which to draw when his preparation time was occasionally interrupted.

McCheyne's background notes for approaching sermons contain ample proof of his continuance in the study of the original languages of the Bible. Further, at his suggestion nine members of the old Exegetical Society determined in 1838 to read within the course of the coming year "the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah, or one or the other of them, in Hebrew--and one of the books of the New Testament in Greek."³

After completing his preliminary preparation from week to week, McCheyne's actual writing for the coming Sunday usually

1. Moody Stuart states that McCheyne read little in his later years except the Bible. (John Duncan, p. 49) But this was not done in the spirit of John Bruce, who boasted this fact.

2. McCheyne, MS. letter to Father, Nov. 23, 1835.

3. This declaration, written in McCheyne's hand, was reproduced in the Memoir (1913 ed.), p. 186.

began on Friday. On Saturday the sermons were corrected and revised, and "committed."¹ Generally, nothing was allowed to interfere with this final preparation. Once he refused an invitation to observe a Saturday fast since he felt the need of getting his thoughts in order for the Sabbath to be more important than seeking God's aid for some other cause--albeit worthy.² He was known to be willing to break the day's study only for the purpose of visiting the sick and dying, which he found to be an effective means of preparing his own heart, commenting: "I always like before preaching to look over the brink."³

The Sabbath was never used by McChoyne to prepare his sermons. Instead, he sought to have all his work completed on Saturday, so that he himself might be able to have the whole day for his own edification.⁴ This indicates not only his consistency as regards the observance of the Sabbath, but also his methodical and diligent preparation.

It is evident from McChoyne's papers that he took great pains in the writing of his sermons. Unlike William Cunningham, of whom it was said that he wrote out his sermons at one sitting on Saturday without any pause "except to dip or mend his pen," and who seldom re-touched his manuscripts,⁵ McChoyne sketched, wrote, and re-wrote his sermons until he was satisfied with them. It is true that he also had a fluent style of writing,

1. McChoyne, MS. letter to Family, May 13, 1836; also letter to A. Bonar, Sept. 13, 1836, in M. Bonar, Reminiscences, p. 10.

2. McChoyne, letter quoted in Memoir, p. 65.

3. McChoyne, quoted in Blaikie, For the Work of the Ministry, p. 81.

4. Memoir, p. 66.

5. J. J. Bonar, in William Cunningham, Sermons from 1820-1860, p. xi.

but this was usually preceded by much revision. At the beginning of one sermon manuscript which shows many crossings out, he wrote: "Oh that my tongue were the pen of a ready writer."¹

Having decided upon his text, McCheyne commonly made a thorough exegesis of it, determining the precise shade of meaning of each word. This was followed by a paraphrase of the passage in his own words. Next came pages of notes, observations, and parallel texts as he brooded over his material. In addition, he occasionally read sermons by others on the same text. Then he drew out his three or four main points, which were followed by a full and complete outline, from which he could easily have preached. But noting Chalmers' recommendation that "the bulk of your parish preparations should be in writing" to avoid repetition and sameness of style,² McCheyne expanded his outline into a formal manuscript, which in most cases showed neatness and deliberation.³

McCheyne usually began his discourses with direct consideration of his text, which method was commonly employed by his contemporary expositors. While this is generally considered not to be effective in arresting the attention of listeners,⁴ McCheyne's intention was to cut the introduction short and proceed immediately to the main body of his address.

1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Matt. 25:1-13, Dec. 1841. It is interesting to note the places in McCheyne's preliminary outlines where he had some little difficulty with his thought or wording--indicated by "doodles" and sketches.

2. McCheyne, MS. notes of Chalmers' class, Notebook VI.

3. Examples of McCheyne's method of preparation are found in MS. Notebooks III and X.

4. Blaikie, For the Work of the Ministry, p. 112.

Often he dispensed with the introduction altogether, commonly beginning merely by saying, "These words . . ."

Sometimes he showed the connection of the text with the context, setting the scene for the passage at hand.¹ This procedure at times had the effect of attracting the interest as he portrayed the background and explained the customs involved in story fashion.² Elsewhere, his introduction consisted of his reason for choosing the text, such as: "It has long been a matter of sad and solemn inquiry to me, what is the cause of the little success that attends the preaching of the Gospel in our day . . ."³

Less often, and yet it would seem with greater effect, McCheyne began with some catching statement or illustration, which he then related to the text. This might have been in the form of an item of current interest as: "When it pleased God lately to pour out his Spirit in a remarkable manner on one of the parishes of Scotland . . ."⁴ Or it could have consisted of an attractive analogy which would have the effect of carrying the hearer along into the spiritual parallelism:

When a traveller passes through a country, the eye has no time to rest upon the different objects in it . . . He has only a confused notion of the country through which he has travelled.

This explains how it is that death, judgment, eternity, make so little impression upon men's minds. Most people never stop to think, but hurry on through life . . .⁵

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1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Ezek. 21:9,10, July, 1837.
 2. McCheyne, MS. sermons, Num. 14:7,8, 1838; Is. 53:7. 1837.
 3. McCheyne, MS. sermon, I Sam. 3:19, 1838.
 4. McCheyne, MS. sermon, I Cor., 11:29, 30, 1841.
 5. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Heb. 3:1, 1836.

Occasionally, he began with a direct statement or question, which was intended to make the hearer stop and take notice, as: "There is no end to a pastor's anxieties,"¹ and "Have you found him whom your soul loveth?"² Very rarely did he use the dramatic device so well employed by Thomas Guthrie. Nowhere did he resort to sensational means to attract the attention of his hearers; the opposite would be nearer to the truth.

After he had made sufficient introduction, McCheyne usually gave the basic substance of his message in a concise statement. This "doctrine" was a common feature in the sermons of the old evangelical preachers,³ and was given in order to keep the central theme before the people during the entire discourse. This McCheyne stated simply, as when preaching about the reward to Caleb for his obedience: "It is a blessed thing to follow the Lord fully."⁴

The next step was to divide his subject, and here is seen his skill in following a logical and orderly pattern in presenting the text and making its application. He generally made simple and logical arrangements, occasionally using alliteration,⁵ so that his working class people might easily retain the main headings. Through his efforts, dry exposition was given a unity and plan, as one of his friends said: "The heads of his sermons were not milestones that tell you how

1. McCheyne, Sermon, Jude 24, May 10, 1841.

2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Song 3:4, 1842.

3. Blaikie, For the Work of the Ministry, p. 118.

4. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Num. 14:24, May, 1842.

5. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Psalm 40:1-3, 1835. This method is most prominent in McCheyne's earlier sermons.

near you are to your journey's end, but they were nails which fixed and fashioned all he said. Divisions are often dry; but not so his divisions."¹

McCheyne generally incorporated three or four main headings, although his sub-divisions at times were numerous. Many of his discourses have more than twenty parts, and one sermon reached forty-five divisions, excluding the introduction and doctrine. Even in this sermon, however, there is a logical progression, and as he pressed the major heads it would have been quite easy to follow.² Most of McCheyne's sermons were free from involvement, as the one on II Corinthians 12:7-10:³

- I. Paul's Wonderful Privilege
- II. Paul's Humbling Visitation
- III. Paul's Remedy--Prayer
- IV. Paul's Determination.

As far as his written sermons are concerned, McCheyne's conclusions are brief. Generally, they are merely outgrowths of the last sub-division of the final point. As this would indicate, his outlines tended to be climactic, ending on a note of urging or application. There is no long summary of his material, but rather an almost abrupt exhortation of Scripture quotation. The following is a sample conclusion: "O you that are in Christ, prize him! You that are in doubt, solve it now by running to him. You that are out of him, choose him now."⁴

It is evident from the reading of McCheyne's sermons that

1. Memoir, p. 73.

2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Num. 14:24, May, 1842.

3. McCheyne, MS. sermon, II Cor. 12:7-10, April, 1840.

4. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Job 14:1,2, Feb. 1842.

his language was characterized by a simplicity and clarity which was not without its own eloquence. In contrast to the grandiose pedantry of his former essays, his discourses now were stripped of everything which was not vital to an explicit presentation of the message he was called to preach. "Let us learn," he said, "that a simple word may be blessed to the saving of precious souls. Often we are tempted to think that there must be some deep and logical argument to bring men to Christ."¹ A contemporary writer noted that McChesney's "poetic fancy and instinctive taste" together with his "fine genius and happy power of language" could have led him to seek a name for eloquence.² Instead, he disciplined himself to such a degree that Horatius Bonar remarked about his plainness of speech and seeming lack of concern for polish and ornament.³ There can be no doubt that the most unlearned listener was able to understand the central theme of his message, as he sought to preach it in non-technical language, using Anglo-Saxon words wherever possible.

So prominent a place did McChesney give to clarity that he once recommended Andrew Bonar to strive more for it, spending time on actual sentence construction and continuance of thought, and thereby avoiding obscurity of expression.⁴ Referring to McChesney's own lucidity in preaching, Blaikie wrote: "In McChesney the effect of a cultured taste was apparent in the

1. McChesney, Christian's Daily Companion, p. 266.

2. The Presbyterian Review, July, 1844, p. 220.

3. Horatius Bonar, Milne, p. 89.

4. McChesney, letter to A. Bonar, in M. Bonar, Reminiscences, p. 7.

chastened beauty and simplicity of his style, if you can call it a style--in a sense he had no style, or rather, it was the perfection of style, for it was transparent as glass."¹

It must not be thought, however, that McCheyne's sermons were devoid of ornament or sparkle, plodding along dryly from doctrine to doctrine. Rather, as Andrew Bonar pointed out, his simplicity was largely due to his ability to analyze and interpret his subject, which he quickened with his power of expression.² Moreover, there is sufficient evidence to show that McCheyne continually employed beautiful phraseology and description as he was caught up in his subject matter. This gave rise for one writer to speak of him as one of the "noblest exponents" of "the oratory of a heart penetrated with the vital truths of the Gospel."³

McCheyne's flair for rhetoric emerged repeatedly in his discourses, and is seen in his use of imaginative descriptions, choice of words, apostrophes, illustrations, and his clarification of thoughts by examining them from all sides. With none of these, however, did he feel justified in taking much time and space, unless it appertained directly to the core of the subject. This is primarily seen in his choice of illustrations, which were seldom more than a sentence or two. On the other hand, the description of some spiritual truth or Biblical scene was often extended, having direct bearing on the subject rather

1. Blaikie, Preachers of Scotland, p. 294.

2. Memoir, p. 73.

3. J. J. van Oosterzee, Practical Theology: A Manual for Theological Students, p. 140.

than merely illuminating it by analogy and application. The extent to which he went in vivid description and minute analysis is seen in this picture of the death of Christ:

The wounds of Christ were the greatest outlets of his glory that ever were. The divine glory shone more out of his wounds than out of all his life before. The vail was then rent in twain, and the full heart of God allowed to stream through. It was a human body that writhed, pale and racked upon the cursed tree; they were human hands that were pierced so rudely by the nails; it was human flesh that bore that deadly gash upon its side; it was human blood that streamed from hands, and feet, and side; the eye that meekly turned to his Father was a human eye; the soul that yearned over his mother was a human soul. But O there was divine glory streaming through all; every wound was a mouth to speak of the grace and love of God.¹

McCheyne made frequent use of word-pictures, which, in a terse way, added color to his expression, e.g.: ". . . the big round tear drop from the Saviour's eye. . .,"² "the drops of dew that come from the womb of morning, shining like diamonds in the morning sun . . .,"³ ". . . the silver voice of the Saviour . . .,"⁴ and temptation was pictured: "Yet sin pursues . . . and rides behind the flying horseman."⁵ He also employed current forms of speech in describing Biblical stories, as when he anachronously, yet effectively, pictured the prosperity of Dives by saying: "His bank-book was full."⁶

After the manner of Samuel Rutherford, whose style he approached, McCheyne frequently broke into apostrophes of exclamation and joy: "Farewell gains of sin--pleasures of

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1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, John 17:24, Jan. 1840.
 2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Jer. 13:15-17, Dec. 1837.
 3. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Isaiah 44:3-5, July 1833.
 4. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Isaiah 50:4, May, 1837.
 5. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Luke 15:1-10, Mar. 1835.
 6. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Luke 6:19-31, Aug. 1840.

sin. In Christ I see a sweeter pleasure--a richer pearl";¹ and urging his hearers to choose the means provided by God, he turned aside and exulted: "Oh, sweet, divine way of justifying a sinner!"²

His occasional indulgence in the dramatic was well done, as when he described the Last Supper. Picturing the disciples basking in the joy and adoration of the hour, he posed the question, "Who would dare to ruffle the calm tranquillity of such a moment by one word of dark suspicion?"--whispering: "Hush! brethren, it is the Saviour that speaks."³

One of McCheyne's most common devices was a series of statements which showed the different sides of a particular thought. Here is seen his facility of expanding and illuminating such points as might easily have been lost to his hearers in the course of many words. For example, in showing the misery of the power of sin he said: "Alas, you think sin freedom, though it is forging chains for your soul--sweet, though it is the very wormwood of hell--light, though it is the source of the blackness of darkness--joyful, though it is the source of endless woe."⁴ In this is also seen something of the thoroughness of his preparation and thought.

Although there is a great deal of illustrative matter in McCheyne's sermons, it is seldom in the form of a story or anecdote. The impression is gained that he felt time to be

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1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Matt. 9:9-13, 1840.
 2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Micah 6:6-8.
 3. McCheyne, MS. sermon, John 13:21, Aug. 1836.
 4. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Isaiah 53:1-3, Nov. 1840.

too valuable to devote to such material when a few words would suffice. Whereas Thomas Guthrie was determined that, whatever else, he would get his hearers to attend to his preaching, thus becoming the master of illustration,¹ McCheyne appears to have relied on his personality and delivery to arrest his hearers' attention. The extent of one story was: "During the French Revolution, a young man stepped forward, and dared God almighty to strike him dead. No evil followed."² Here it would seem that a little more elaboration might have made it more effective. Instead, his preference was for aptly chosen analogy, simile, and literary quotation, so that Horatius Bonar recalled that his illustrations were not "flowers for the fancy, but arrows for the conscience."³ Moreover, his choice was generally confined to the commonplace and homely, although there is much of the imaginative. His skill for inserting the right illustration in the proper place was considered by his hearers to have been striking and arresting in elucidating and enforcing the truth.⁴

Some idea of McCheyne's use of illustrations, together with a sampling of his content, may be seen in the following examples: speaking in an evangelistic vein, he made the analogy, "Look into a grave when corruption has begun its work. Do you see no activity there? Do you not see the activity of the worms? Such is the activity of unconverted

1. Blaikie, Work of Ministry, p. 60.

2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, II Peter 2:9, May, 1842.

3. H. Bonar, Milne, p. 89.

4. Wm. Lamb, quoted in Hewat, op. cit., p. 35.

men."¹ Concerning the work of John the Baptist, he employed the simile: "As when you bring a light into a dark cave--all the birds begin to creep forth. . . so, when John came, all these dark souls were stirred up."² Short comparisons were common, such as: "The weaver is not always casting his shuttle--he sometimes rests . . . But the unconverted is always walking in sin."³ His main sources for quotations were Edwards, Brainerd, Rutherford, and Bunyan, although literary references do not abound in his sermons.

By far the predominant source of McCheyne's illustrations was the Bible itself. His language was quite often that of Scripture, and he preferred to draw from it rather than the above types of secular example and clarification. In fact, some sermons were based entirely upon the Bible for all illustrative material, referring to specific verses, incidents, and people.⁴

While McCheyne carefully tended to the structure and mechanics of his written sermons, it was essentially as they were combined with his delivery that they became the potent means of influencing his hearers. The reader of his sermons today can merely discover something of his content and method, while missing the force of his personality in the heat of the hour of preaching. Although Moody Stuart insisted that "they are more powerful when read and when dissevered from all that

1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Col. 3:1, 1837.

2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Matt. 11:7-12, Aug. 1840.

3. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Eph. 2:1-7, May, 1840.

4. Cf. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Matt. 27:46, April, 1838.

was adventitious,"¹ Bonar claimed that McCheyne must of necessity have been heard in order to get "any true idea of his affectionate appeals to the heart and searching applications," which he seldom committed to writing.²

For speaking in public, Robert McCheyne was endowed with many natural gifts. His personality, appearance and style were combined in such a way that a contemporary periodical wrote: "He was at home in the pulpit."³ He was considerably above middle size, of fair complexion and attractive appearance, of erect posture and nimble movement--making him "a commanding figure" whose "form itself drew the eye."⁴ His one outward flaw was shortsightedness, for which he generally wore spectacles.

As a student, McCheyne had been known for his melodious voice and proficiency in elocution. Throughout the greater part of his ministry, his voice was said to have been considerably powerful yet somewhat lacking in flexibility.⁵ In the pulpit he tended away from the conversational and natural tone,⁶ and one of his friends referred to the "slow and almost singing cadence" of his speech, which at first appeared to have been a disagreeable affectation.⁷ Toward the end of his life, his voice became cracked, the result, according to

1. Moody Stuart, John Duncan, p. 48. It will be remembered that McCheyne's sermons enjoyed great popularity in printed form throughout the nineteenth century.

2. Memoir, p. 75.

3. Presbyterian Review, July, 1844, p. 220.

4. Memoir, p. 73; H. Bonar, Milne, p. 89.

5. Dundee Advertiser, Sept. 2, 1836.

6. H. Bonar, Milne, p. 89.

7. Hamilton, in Arnot, Life of Hamilton, p. 237.

his father, of preaching so often and to such length, in a perfectionist's desire to make his sermons as understandable as possible.¹ As a whole, however, it was regarded by Andrew Bonar to be "remarkably clear."² By virtue of his talent and skill in gymnastics and dancing, he was able to incorporate natural and unstudied gestures, which lent force to his speaking.³

Notwithstanding all this, it was something of a physical effort for him to carry out his preaching ministry. Although he was constitutionally healthy, he was never really robust; and being somewhat excitable, he was frequently exhausted after a day's preaching.⁴ Many of his letters to his family complained of weakness and fatigue following the Sabbath--his "feeble Monday feelings."⁵

McCheyne's delivery was facilitated by the fact that he preached without notes. This was not the normal procedure in a day when the great preachers of the Church of Scotland read from manuscripts, and when it was customary for dissenting ministers to memorize their discourses.⁶ New preachers tended to imitate their outstanding predecessors, as John Mackintosh indicated in regard to Chalmers' reading: "His style became the rage among the young preachers in Scotland, but few of them could do more than copy his defects."⁷

1. A. McCheyne, MS. letter to Bonar, op. cit.

2. Memoir, p. 73.

3. BDES, III, p. 3.

4. A. McCheyne, MS. letter to Bonar, op. cit.

5. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, June 13, 1836.

6. Fleming, History, pp. 85, 86.

7. John Mackintosh, History of Civilization in Scotland, p. 220.

McCheyne, however, noting the advice of Leighton: "I know that weakness of memory is pleaded in excuse for this custom . . . Such an excuse is unworthy of a man,"¹ disliked the confinement of a manuscript, and at the outset of his work at Larbert he generally preached from memory.² But it was not long before he accidentally discovered his ability to retain the substance of his preparation without being bound either to the manuscript or the memorization of it. This happened as the result of dropping his sermons along the wayside as he sped on his horse to the church. He had not had time to "commit" them, and was thus forced to reconstruct them in his mind, much to his satisfaction.³ From that day forward, he gave over memorizing and spoke with less dependence upon his written material. In no way, however, were his preparations for his Sunday services diminished, although he occasionally spoke extemporaneously at week-day meetings. As the years went by, he often confined his written preparation to extended outlines and incomplete sentences rather than formal manuscripts of the type he had previously memorized. But this was a mark of his increased freedom in the pulpit rather than of a lack of preparation. A result of this new-found confidence and freedom was, as Horatius Bonar indicated, that as he preached without a note before him, he was able to speak "easily and

1. McCheyne, MS. "Gems from the Life of Leighton," Notebook I, p. 49.

2. Bonar (Memoir, p. 48) stated that McCheyne did not recite his sermons from memory at this time. McCheyne, however, mentions having done so (MS. letter to Family, Dec. 14, 1835, etc.).

3. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, July 12, 1836.

plainly, right into the people's eyes."¹

To these natural talents and abilities, McCheyne added his singular manner of delivery, which was but an extension of his own personality. He was confident, and yet preached with humility; his sermons were forceful, and yet gentle; critical although sympathetic; sober, and yet with feeling. More than any other human element, it was this personal factor which enabled him continually to draw 1100 hearers throughout the seven years of his ministry.

McCheyne's pulpit style showed a tremendous consciousness of his authority as a minister of the gospel of Christ. He was without doubt as to his calling, and was confident of the power of the message he was commissioned to preach. Bonar wrote of the "abiding sense of the Divine favour" in which he lived.² And in this strength he preached, as he stated: "I have gone among you for more than a year, preaching the Gospel of the kingdom. Remember the word was not mine, but His that sent me. I would have been ashamed to stand up and speak my own words."³ He felt strongly that he must "speak plainly" to his people, denouncing their sinfulness and urging them to "fly to Christ"--regardless of what they might think of him:

Oh how many are like Festus in this. You hear us telling you the need of conversion--that God alone can do it for you--that Christ hath sent us to open the blind eye--that you may receive the forgiveness of sins. Oh how many proud hearts would fain say, "Thou art beside thyself--much learning doth make thee mad!" Oh dear

1. H. Bonar, Milne, p. 90.

2. Memoir, p. 75.

3. McCheyne, MS. sermon, I Sam. 3:19, Feb. 1838.

brethren, we are not mad. If we are mad it is because we are so dead and cold in beseeching you to turn and have life. It is you that are mad, walking easy in mind without forgiveness; happy while heirs of hell; prayerless, Christless, Godless--yet smiling and happy. It is you that are mad!¹

On the basis of this authority, McChesney expected results from his preaching--to be seen in the changed lives of his people. He was straightforward in stating that his messages were delivered with the intention of being "blessed to the conversion of many of you."² From time to time he paused to examine the extent to which his preaching compared "with the unerring standard of God's word," and to what extent his congregation was receiving his message.³

Together with this feeling of confidence in the calling and blessing of God upon his ministry, McChesney exhibited a spirit of humility which extended throughout his life. His crowning interest was that "Christ will get glory,"⁴ and his ministry was characterized by dependence upon God to that end. Prime evidence of this is found at the end of some of his sermon manuscripts, which he had no reason to believe would have been read by anyone else. Here he made such notes as: "O life of the world, help me;"⁵ "Own thine own truth to the conversion of sinners and comfort of saints;"⁶ and "Out of weakness make me strong; send showers of the Spirit."⁷

1. McChesney, MS. sermon, Acts 26:28, Sept. 1837. (Italics added.)

2. McChesney, MS. sermon, Rom. 7:4.

3. McChesney, MS. sermon, II Cor. 4:1-6, Nov. 1841.

4. Ibid.

5. McChesney, MS. sermon, John 11:17-27, April, 1842.

6. McChesney, MS. sermon, Romans 5:19, April, 1842.

7. McChesney, MS. sermon, Isaiah 42:18-21, March, 1842.

McCheyne's confidence in his calling and authority from God was misunderstood by some who were not sympathetic to his ministry. The Advertiser, which tended to deprecate his activities (and the Church of Scotland in general), referred to "his besetting sin of egotism."¹ His close associates, however, clearly described his humility as "very deep."²

In the light of McCheyne's conviction regarding his commission, he manifested a sense of urgency and forcefulness which at times bordered upon vehemence. He was constantly struck by the fact that "everyone of my flock must soon be in heaven or hell," and that he must therefore warn them: "O how I wished that I had a tongue like thunder, that I might make all hear; or that I had a frame like iron, that I might visit everyone, and say, 'Escape for thy life!'"³

Throughout his sermons were woven such exclamations as: "Oh we cannot speak too plainly, too urgently to those who are receiving an unholy gospel."⁴ And rather than feel apologetic about this, he sought to be more fearless: "O pray for me, that I may go out and in among you more faithfully--that I may speak more boldly, and not fear your anger or reproaches."⁵ The extent of his boldness was shown by William Arnot, who described his preaching as "more concerned to strike hard than to refine the sentiment,"⁶ and Horatius Bonar, who commented

1. Dundee Advertiser, Dec. 6, 1839.

2. Hamilton, in The Witness, loc. cit.

3. McCheyne, quoted in Memoir, p. 156.

4. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Phil. 3:17-23, July, 1840.

5. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Job 14:1,2, Feb. 1842.

6. Arnot, James Hamilton, p. 186.

that McCheyne "never paused to smooth down his words, as if afraid of calling things by too strong names."¹ Thus, his tone frequently approached the vehemence of the following:

They that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with its affectations and lusts. Do you feel that Jesus has put the nails through your lusts? Do you wish they were dead? What answer can you make, sons and daughters of pleasure, whom the dance, and song, and the glass, and witty repartee, are the sum of happiness? Ye are none of Christ's. . . Ye have not come to Christ. The world is all alive to you, and you are living to the world. . . Ah! poor deluded souls, you have never seen the glory of the way of pardon by Jesus. Go on, love the world; grasp every pleasure; gather heaps of money; feed and fatten on your lusts; take your fill. What will it profit you when you lose your own soul?²

His forcefulness was strengthened by the warmth of feeling and the directness of speech which were invariable characteristics of his preaching. For while his services were conducted with the utmost dignity and solemnity, he did not deem it unsuitable to include the emotional aspect. Rather, he was so gripped by the necessity and urgency of the message that he quite naturally gave vent to this stirring feeling which was within him. The exclamations "oh" and "ah" were employed time and again, indicating his emotional fervor, e.g., "Oh, stop sinner! You are piercing the One who loves you!"³

The pronoun "you" was constantly used in his messages, showing his manner of addressing himself directly to his audience, and thereby lessening the possibility of evading the claims of the Gospel. This also demonstrates the practical

1. H. Bonar, Milne, p. 89.

2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Gal. 6:14, Oct. 1840.

3. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Zech. 12:10-13:1, April, 1840.

and personal nature of McCheyne's preaching, as he appealed to the hearts and consciences of his people instead of elaborating on theoretical abstractions.

It is significant to note that with all of McCheyne's force and boldness he was just as decided about the need for gentleness and tenderness in preaching. The Presbyterian Review wrote that "His solicitude for the salvation of his hearers made him affectionate even beyond his natural tenderness."¹ Realizing the eternal hell toward which most were running, the eternal heaven which most were losing, and the divine Saviour whom most were rejecting, it was imperative to preach as Jeremiah did, and to "be mercifully bold, like the angels at Sodom, laying hands on lingering sinners, and pulling them out of the fire."² Christians were urged to recall their own deliverance, and to act accordingly:

Be gentle to them that are where you were. Oh! it ill becomes you to be proud and bitter over others--when you were in the same case but yesterday. Rather pray for them--and weep for them--and say with the lamb-like gentleness of Christ: "Neither do I condemn thee; go and sin no more."³

Elsewhere he stated: "the man who speaks of hell should do it with tears in his eyes."⁴ And one of his elders wrote: "How beautifully affectionate were McCheyne's addresses! He draws you to Christ."⁵

McCheyne's question to Andrew Bonar, who had remarked on

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1. Presbyterian Review, July, 1844, p. 220.
 2. McCheyne, Christian's Daily Companion, p. 293.
 3. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Titus 3:3-6, Aug. 1837.
 4. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Mal. 1:6, Nov. 1835.
 5. Wm. Lamb, quoted in Hewat, op. cit., p. 33.

preaching about hell: "Were you able to preach it with tenderness?"¹ indicates his determination to combine these two aspects in his own ministry. So prominent was his gentleness in preaching that Blaikie compared him to Welch, Rutherford, and John Livingstone, saying: "In our own time the faculty reappeared in Robert McCheyne, whose tender tone seemed a new thing in our pulpit, and was wonderfully efficacious."²

The most frequently used word in characterizing McCheyne's preaching is earnestness. George Gilfillan,³ Dundee minister-literary critic, listed him with Thomas Carlyle and Edward Miall as the three most sincere men he had ever known. Concerning "poor McCheyne," whose flame of zeal was fueled with "sentimental fancy," he said: "McCheyne's one desire was to save souls by preaching and practising the highest Calvinism, and . . . we are free to confess him one of the sincerest and best, albeit narrowest of men . . . McCheyne believed and felt every word he said." Gilfillan then went on to say that the mastering power of all three men was moral purpose.⁴

Blaikie's appraisal, although similar, was more sympathetic

1. McCheyne, Memoir, p. 52.

2. Blaikie, Preachers, p. 176.

3. Gilfillan's whole spiritual attitude was poles apart from McCheyne's, as indicated in his own words regarding his "call" to the ministry: "But I was miserably poor. I was, in all matters of business, a blind blunderer. I had heard, too, a great deal of the precariousness of the literary man's life; and I felt, therefore, that I must become either a wreck or a minister." (Watson, George Gilfillan, p. 41.)

4. George Gilfillan, "Bundle of Books", in Hogg's Instructor, Vol. V, 1850. Gilfillan claimed also that in McCheyne's last sermon he had denounced one of Gilfillan's, but this is not evident in the published version of the sermon.

as he commented upon McCheyne's part in restoring this feature to Scottish preaching:

The new element he brought into the pulpit, or rather which he revived and used so much that it appeared new, was winsomeness. It was an almost feminine quality. A pity that turned many of his sermons into elegiac poems, thrilled his heart, and by the power of the Spirit imparted the thrill to many souls.¹

The contemporary Witness referred to the "engagingness" which characterized McCheyne's preaching;² and the Dundee Advertiser spoke of his earnestness, though later his intensity of style evoked the remark that he belonged to "what is called the whinging [i.e. whining] school of preachers."³ In direct rebuttal to this "unjust and uncalled for lampoon," a writer in the Dundee Courier observed: "If he wants the brilliancy of a Chalmers or the power of a Thomson, he possesses the simple fervour and unaffected piety of a Willison. . ."⁴

These aspects of McCheyne's style, being genuine parts of his own personality, together with the consistency and openness of his Christian character, gave rise to his uncommon success as a preacher. Fired by his own experience with Christ, and his desire for others to have the same, his ministry was nothing more than a sincere presentation of that experience as he found it corroborated in the Scriptures.

1. Blaikie, Preachers, p. 295.

2. The Witness, Jan. 15, 1842.

3. Dundee Advertiser, Sept. 2, Dec. 16, 1836.

4. Dundee Courier, Dec. 20, 1836.

B. Theological Content

The content of McCheyne's preaching was based upon the theology of the Church of Scotland since its change during the early part of the nineteenth century. Up until the turn of the century, the dominant influence in the Church had been that of such men as Hutcheson, Robertson, Carlyle, and Blair, who regarded the enthusiasm of their fathers as displaying a basic lack of culture and refinement. These were men of outstanding gifts and extensive learning, who had contributed much to the fields of literature, history, and philosophy, which formed the chief characteristic of their preaching. As G. D. Henderson has shown, "They loved the ancient classics and modern literature more than works on Dogma."¹ Their sermons stressed morality, culture, and intellectualism, which were exemplified in their own lives.

In opposition to the Moderates, the eighteenth century Evangelicals, who were in a distinct minority, struggled to maintain the orthodox, traditional faith as it had been handed down by the Covenanters of the preceding century. The difference between the two sides was described by Cunningham:

The Popular men were rigidly Calvinistic, giving prominence to the doctrines of election and irresistible grace; the Moderates, if not Arminians, at least kept out of view the peculiar principles of Calvinism. The former dwelt much upon the doctrines of Christianity, and especially upon justification by faith; the latter² insisted mainly upon the keeping of the commandments.

1. G. D. Henderson, The Church of Scotland, p. 115.

2. John Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland, Vol. II, p. 413. Moderation was labelled by William Cunningham "Pelagian Unitarianism." (Rainy and Mackenzie, The Life of William Cunningham, p. 63.)

With the coming of the nineteenth century, the old Moderatism began to disappear. Its outstanding leaders were not succeeded by others of their rank, although the name still continued to be held by those who regarded themselves to be the inheritors of the old tradition. Together with this, a new era of popular and democratic feeling was ushered in, bringing with it high hopes of a better world. But while people began to envision greater opportunity in life, they saw Moderate ideas as one step toward the infidelity of the free-thinking revolutionaries. Thus there was a return to orthodoxy, with the long-held grip of Moderatism broken, and long-suppressed Evangelicalism ready to fill the vacuum.

This Evangelical Revival was characterized by missionary activity and evangelistic efforts such as those of Rowland Hill and Haldanes. Bible and praying societies flourished. Chapels of Ease were being built in rapidly expanding areas. In general, a new vitality had replaced the old coldness.¹

By the time McCheyne began his ministry, the wide gulf which formerly separated the two parties theologically had essentially vanished so that it was difficult to distinguish between them. The cause of division now shifted into the realm of polity and the question of patronage. By the beginning of the fourth decade, the Calvinism of the Westminster Standards was restored and adhered to by Moderates and Evangelicals alike, and was the popular religious thought of the

1. Henderson, op. cit., pp. 118, 119; A. J. Campbell, op. cit., pp. 163 ff.

day.¹ Thus, in matters of Christian enterprise and theological discussion, Thomson and Chalmers and other Evangelicals were usually supported by Moderates such as William Muir and John Inglis. The only controversies of note were occasioned by such isolated heresies as those of Edward Irving and Macleod Campbell.

The result of this was that there were no real theological battles to be fought by McCheyne and his contemporaries. McCheyne's theology was that which was laid down in the Westminster standards, which he thoroughly believed.² His preaching was permeated with Calvinistic doctrine, as was typical of the preaching of the pre-Disruption Evangelicals, and, later, of the Free Church.³ But this does not mean that his was a second-hand theology, about which he had given no serious thought. Rather, he firmly appropriated it as he saw it to be borne out in his own experience and in his study of the Scriptures. The extent to which this was the case was indicated by John Macleod, in referring to McCheyne's sermons: "These show in their clear and solid statement of Christian teaching how sound his Theology was that lay at the basis of his preaching; and he was only a specimen of a large class."⁴

1. John Tulloch, in Movements of Religious Thought in Britain During the Nineteenth Century, considered this a regression under the "high-flying" Evangelicals, after the liberalism of the 1820's. (p. 166).

2. Memoir, p. 85; H. Bonar, Milne, p. 90.

3. Fleming, op. cit., p. 68. In the 1860's, according to J. J. Bonar, the writings of Rutherford, McCheyne, et al., were derided "among smart divines" as "the soft theology of the infant school." (William Cunningham, Sermons from 1820-1860, p. xix.)

4. John Macleod, Scottish Theology, p. 277.

And Moody Stuart wrote that McChoyne's "views of divine truth were clear and determined," and were "free from extremes."¹

But while there was a strong undercurrent of doctrine in McCheyne's preaching, and although he kept abreast of contemporary thought as it was related to Evangelicalism, he did not consider it to be expedient to give a prominent place to theology as such, except as it touched upon his chief object of evangelism and Christian nurture. It has already been observed that his preaching was intended for the masses. Economically, the majority of his hearers were members of the working classes, and spiritually they were felt to be predominantly non-Christians. Many had had little contact with the Church prior to the erection of St. Peter's and McCheyne's ministry. Therefore, his sermons were essentially practical and utilitarian rather than scholarly and theoretical. He asserted that his people "have seldom heard any voice from the pulpit that did not proclaim 'ruin by the fall, righteousness by Christ, and regeneration by the Spirit.'"²

A survey of the central themes of McChoyne's addresses shows that, in keeping with Evangelical preaching of the time,³ by far the largest portion dealt with the doctrine of salvation; and even in such sermons where he addressed himself to the edification of Christians, he generally devoted much of his attention to those whom he felt to be outside of Christ.

1. A. Moody Stuart, John Duncan, p. 43.

2. McCheyne, "Letter on Communion with Brethren of Other Denominations," in Dundee Warder, July, 1842.

3. Blaikie, Work of Ministry, p. 47.

He assented to Chalmers' injunction that the burden of each sermon should not be a learned demonstration of its truth, but a warning founded upon that truth, thereby leading the people's attention to God rather than to the controversies of man.¹ Far from being dissertations about the way of salvation, McCheyne's sermons were exhortations to accept it, so that he was judged to be "persuasive rather than argumentative."²

Thus, when he referred to points of theology, they were factually, and often summarily, stated, for the sole purpose of clarifying and enlightening the subject at hand. For example, although the doctrine of the Virgin Birth was never formally expounded, it was alluded to often enough in the course of time that his hearers were able to see McCheyne's view.³ In this way the more mature members were given instruction even as their unconverted friends were receiving the gospel message; and at the same time that many were "closing with Christ," a member of the kirk-session was recording in his diary notes of McCheyne's practical and searching preaching, e.g., "I greatly enjoyed the sermon, and felt that I could take not a little of it to myself. The preaching is of the right sort. . . leading to the cultivation of a holier life."⁴

1. McCheyne, MS. notes of Chalmers' Divinity Class, Notebook I.

2. Dundee Advertiser, Sept. 2, 1836.

3. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Is. 53:1-3, Nov. 1840.

4. Wm. Lamb, in Hewat, op. cit., p. 54. It will be remembered that McCheyne took advantage of many opportunities to teach doctrine in his Bible and communicants' classes, usually following the form of the Shorter Catechism.

For this reason it must not be supposed that McCheyne made any significant contribution to theology. The contents of his messages were the same that could have been heard in any number of other churches in Scotland. Thus, it will be sufficient to give attention only to those aspects of his thought which emerged prominently from his preaching.

That McCheyne's theology was primarily concerned with evangelism and basic Christian development is seen in a list he compiled of "Leading Doctrines of Christianity." Here he devoted a page of a notebook to each of nine points, adding pertinent references to each point. The significance of this list is that the doctrines deal solely with the salvation of sinful man through repentance and faith in Christ, and his ensuing deliverance from condemnation.¹ Similarly, the outstanding doctrinal features of his preaching are in the realm of evangelism: the person and work of Christ, the righteous wrath of God, man's sinfulness and danger of hell, the necessity for awakening and conversion, election and God's sovereignty, the growth and sanctification of the believer, and the urgency behind all these in the light of Christ's imminent return.

The core of McCheyne's message was the person and work of Jesus Christ, and His relation to God and man. This was the major theme of the preachers of the Disruption generation;² to McCheyne, however, this was not merely a matter of orthodoxy

1. McCheyne, MS. Notebook V.

2. Macleod, op. cit., p. 291.

but an experience of utmost importance. He considered Scottish preaching in general to be faulty in setting Christ before the people in an orthodox manner, without urging them to accept Him.¹ He also disliked the expression, "giving attention to religion," since it appeared to substitute doctrine and devoutness for Christ Himself.² Further, he made it clear that the Scriptures were to be subordinate as he struck at the folly of those "who run to the Bible to find peace, and when they do not find it they are disappointed and blame God as if he dealt hardly with them." For while it was right to make diligent use of such means, they must be used only to point to "the Saviour himself who speaks peace to weary souls."³ Thus it is not far from truth to say that he was concerned more with Christ than he was with theology, as he wrote: "It is strange how sweet and precious it is to preach directly about Christ--compared with all other objects of preaching."⁴ All other points of doctrine--particularly those in which man is wrapped up--must emanate from this center, focusing the attention upon Christ:

The repentance which gives joy in heaven is a repentance which gives all the honour to the Saviour . . . It is not that a creature is saved from pain--that a never-dying spirit is snatched from never-dying sorrow --that a soul and a body are rescued from the worm and the fire--the weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth. It is not that only nor that chiefly that sends a thrill of joy through all the holy universe--but that you are redeemed from all this with no corruptible thing, but

1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, II Tim. 4:1,2, Dec. 1840.

2. Memoir, p. 74.

3. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Is. 50:4, 1837.

4. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, March 22, 1837.

with the precious blood of Christ--that you are sanctified by no earthly power but by the precious Spirit of Christ--that you are a ransomed captive--borne off in triumph on the mighty shoulders of the Spoiler of Principalities. All heaven rejoices in the felicity of a creature, but they rejoice in the brightening glory of the Redeemer more.¹

In the light of this, it is noteworthy to discover how quickly McCheyne referred his text or subject to Christ--by analogy, contrast, or application. He was so eager to relate his theme to Christ that he occasionally plunged into an unguarded or extravagant statement. Outstanding in this respect was his remark about the first shepherd: "Perhaps Abel chose this employment because he loved Jesus, and loved to tend lambs and sheep which represented Christ. It is good to choose employment that will not drive Christ out of your mind."² Elsewhere, he pictured the experiences of the wandering Israelites with the several means of God's provision and protection, commenting, for example upon the brazen serpent: "Oh with how full a heart the Israelite would gaze upon it and think of the Saviour yet to be lifted up;" from which he concluded: "Oh it is sweet to think that many an Israelite was led by these to Jesus, the City of Refuge."³ While such remarks are not easily defended in the present day, they are nevertheless seen to be consistent with McCheyne's views of Scriptural unity and typology, and his haste to preach Christ.

It was the love of Christ for wicked man that Robert

1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Luke 15:1-10, March, 1835.

2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Genesis 4:1-15, Dec. 1841.

3. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Joshua 20, April, 1838. The "Doctrine" here was: "The cities of refuge were intended to set forth Jesus."

McCheyne sought most to proclaim to his congregation. His own life exuded confidence in this love, and there was scarcely a sermon which failed to include some allusion to it. Of it he said:

The love of Christ! Such is our precious theme! Of it, can we ever weary? Its greatness, can we ever know? Its plenitude, can we fully contain? Never. Its depths cannot be fathomed, its dimensions cannot be measured. It passeth knowledge . . . Travelling to Bethlehem--I see love incarnate. Tracking his steps as he went about doing good--I see love laboring. Visiting the house of Bethany--I see love sympathizing. Standing by the grave of Lazarus--I see love weeping. Entering the gloomy precincts of Gethsemane--I see love sorrowing. Passing on to Calvary--I see love suffering, bleeding, expiring. The whole scene of his life is but an unfolding of the deep, awful, and precious mystery of redeeming love.¹

Elaborating upon Christ's love as seen in the crucifixion, he stated: "but though his arms were firmly nailed to the tree, they are more firmly nailed wide open now--by his love and compassion for perishing sinners . . . "²

The traditional doctrines and teachings of the life and work of Christ were enlivened by such exclamations of His love. This was the motive behind His incarnation and humiliation--covenanting with His Father to "bear wrath" in the place of sinners.³ For this He "abhorred not the Virgin's womb,"⁴ becoming "a worm that he might be trampled on."⁵ In His atonement, it was for love that He "fought the wrath of God, Satan, and hell . . . and now he makes us share in his triumph."⁶

1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Romans 8:38, 39.

2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, John 5:40, July, 1837.

3. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Isaiah 53:7, Oct. 1837.

4. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Isaiah 53:1-3, Nov. 1840.

5. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Hebrews 2:11-15, Sept., 1840.

6. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Song of Solomon 2:4.

And this love was constantly recommended to sinners:

Oh! that the tears which the Saviour shed over your lost and perishing souls might fall upon your hearts like drops of liquid fire--that you might no more sit unmelted under that wondrous love which burns with so vehement a flame--which many waters cannot quench--which all your sins cannot smother--the love that passeth knowledge.¹

God the Father was also portrayed as a God of love. To know the love and compassion of one Person of the Trinity was to know it of the others.² Indeed, it was with the Father that the love originated:

The love of the Father! Such, too, is our theme . . . The love of the Father is seen in giving us Christ, in choosing us in Christ, and in blessing us in him with all spiritual blessings . . . It is the love of God, exhibited, manifested, and seen in Christ Jesus, Christ being not the originator, but the gift of this love; not the cause, but the exponent of it.³

But out of his desire to rouse his people out of their complacency, McChoyne also found it necessary to present God as a God of vengeance and wrath, from whom man had estranged himself: "It is a part of the nature of God to hate wickedness whenever he sees it. In every heart he discovers it he cannot but hate it."⁴ This wrath rested upon the unconverted every moment of his life, and was being "stored up against the day of wrath" when it would result in unbearable separation and punishment.⁵ In the heat of his intense concern for sinners, McChoyne once referred to the enmity between God and man in a terrifying extravagance that identified God's righteous wrath

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1. McChoyne, MS. sermon, John 13:21, Aug. 1836.
 2. McChoyne, MS. sermon, Psalm 143:10.
 3. McChoyne, MS. sermon, Romans, 8:38, 39.
 4. McChoyne, MS. sermon, Romans, 8:38, 39.
 5. McChoyne, MS. sermon, Isaiah 12:1-3.

with hatred: "God not only does not love--but he hates--Christless persons. . . God must cease to be God before he ceases to hate the wicked."¹ This, however, was not consistent with McCheyne's total concept of God's wrath. Rather, it was customary for him to say that it was the same God who was gathering vengeance who had provided the means of protection from it, and that His wrath sprang from His love: "It seems a contradiction and yet I believe it is true, that the more God is angry with a sinner, the more he has compassion towards him."² And again: "Learn the intense love of God for sinners . . . He loved the happiness of his Son; but he loved the salvation of sinners more."³ Nevertheless, McCheyne made it clear that this was "love of pity" for the unconverted, and not the "love of esteem" which was only reserved for His own people.⁴

The condition and future prospect of man could hardly have been any blacker, as far as McCheyne was concerned. Man's whole nature was depraved; he had turned his back upon God. Every day of his life, the unconverted man was breaking God's law, and it was he who was storing up wrath against himself. Indeed, he was such a mortal enemy to God that "If the breast of God were

1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Rom. 8:38, 39. In Revival Truth, which includes eight of McCheyne's discourses, transcribed from his own MSS., the compiler sensed the extravagance of this statement, and modified it: "He must change his nature and become another God before he can cherish the least spark of esteem for an unconverted soul" (p. 206). But this cannot be said to be an honest representation of McCheyne.

2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Luke 19:10, 1840.

3. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Isaiah 42:5-8, Jan. 1838.

4. G. D. Henderson, Claims, p. 42, writes, "It has perhaps not been sufficiently noted that while the wrath of God was much in evidence in sermons, this was never the last word; there came always the happy ending, the promises, the gospel offer of salvation."

within reach of men, it would be stabbed a million times in one moment."¹

It has been said that Alexander Whyte desired to be known as a specialist in the study of sin,² and his thorough treatment of the subject has been called an "acute and often morbid anatomy of sin."³ Much the same may be said about McCheyne. His own self-examination and introspection have been noted, and it was out of a deep acquaintance with his own heart that he dwelt at great length upon the marks of guilt in others--that they might be awakened to see their "monstrous wickedness:"⁴ "O brethren, if God has ever discovered yourself to you, you would wonder that such a lump of hell and sin should have been permitted to live and breathe so long."⁵

Sin was analyzed from every angle. There were sins of ignorance, sins against light, and against the Spirit of God.⁶ The mind, tongue, and heart were indicted for unholy thoughts, deceit, hypocrisy, and blasphemy.⁷ The "darling sins" of childhood, youth, middle age, and old age were amplified, showing the vileness of all.⁸ As a city, Dundee was cited: "I have been in many heathen cities, but I never saw such sin in the day time as I have seen in this town."⁹ McCheyne also listed many outward acts which he considered to be signs of

1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Psalm 58:3-5.

2. Alexander Whyte, Lord, Teach us to Pray, p. xi.

3. Alexander Gammie, Preachers I have Heard, p. 12.

4. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Psalm 58:3-5.

5. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Micah 6:6-8.

6. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Matt. 11:7-12, Aug., 1840.

7. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Jer. 17:9, 10.

8. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Ezek. 21:9, 10, July, 1837.

9. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Phil. 3:17-21, July, 1840.

ungodliness: Sabbath-breaking, drinking, swearing, stealing, lying, card playing, dancing, and other amusements ("where is the harm? Sit down upon yon grave, and ask the dead. ").¹

Such constant reiteration of specific sins (as was typical of evangelical preaching) was destined to have a misleading effect upon some people who thought that by abstaining from them they would be made acceptable to God. However, this was the farthest thing from McCheyne's mind. These lists were merely his way of proving negatively the basic sinfulness of man, for which no amount of reform was sufficient as a remedy: "Alas, foolish man! it is not your drinking, or your swearing, or your lying, that are desperately wicked--but your heart . . . It is a new heart you need."² It was not an outward morality that he sought, but the delighting in it as the result of conversion by Christ. Thus he asked such positive questions as "Does your conversation savour of Christ?", "Is the Sabbath your delight?", "Do you relish secret prayer?", "Do you love family prayer?".³ All these were means of ascertaining the individual's position in regard to "the damning sin" of unbelief, which was the only sin which finally excluded man from God's favor.⁴

By exclusion from God, McCheyne meant eternal suffering in hell, where a real Satan and his tormentors, the flames of the burning lake, and "the worm that never dies" were all ready

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1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Job 14:1, 2, Feb. 1842.
 2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Jer. 17:9, 10.
 3. McCheyne, MS. notes on Romans 3, Notebook XII.
 4. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Hebrews 3:16-19.

to receive the "Christless soul."¹ If man were so determined to reject God, here, with all restraints taken off, he could curse Him for eternity.² Those who had sinned against a greater revelation of love in Christ were doomed to greater suffering--"a deeper wave of that dismal lake beating over them forever."³ On one occasion, in a friend's church, McCheyne expressed the belief that many in that parish must have wished that they had died and gone to hell prior to his friend's incumbency, "For hell would not be so hot for them as it will be now."⁴

This was the wrath on the brink of which sinners were trembling, and from which they must be rescued. Its certainty was beyond doubt, as McCheyne asked:

Why did that lovely one that was from the beginning the brightness of his Father's glory, and express image of his person, degrade himself so much as to become like a small corn of wheat, which is hidden in the earth and dies? . . . Was it not that there was wrath infinite and unutterable lying upon men? Would Christ have wept over Jerusalem if there had been no hell beneath it? Would he have died under his Father's wrath if there were no wrath to come? . . . Why all this suffering in the spotless one if there be no wrath coming on the unbelieving head?⁵

In spite of his emphasis upon this doctrine, McCheyne was certain that he preached it with a note of deliverance, and that it was his hearers who turned the "day of grace" into a

1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Ezekiel 21:9, 10, July, 1837.

2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Col. 1:21-23, Aug. 1841.

3. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Mark 5:15.

4. Dundee Advertiser, Dec. 11, 1840 condemned this: "It was thought that the period for working upon credulity had fled, but the theme of the Saviour's encouraging love is not yet substituted for the long reign of terror and affright."

5. McCheyne, MS. sermon, John 12:20-26.

"day of vengeance:" "We speak nothing to you but peace and pardon--it is you that turn it all into sermons about hell-fire."¹

Regardless of what may be thought of McCheyne's views of death and hell, it must be admitted that he acted within complete accordance with them. Unlike many who held similar views, he was constrained by them to proclaim to sinful men the dangers which were in store unless they "took Christ for their surety."² This was a major source of his urgency and constancy in preaching. Throughout his ministry he was confronted with the reality of sickness and death, finding, as he wrote on returning from one of his illnesses: ". . . many of the people here are dead who were sick--and sick who were well. This is the way of the world."³ The high rate of deaths from fever in Dundee has already been noted, and at least one sermon was occasioned by a succession of deaths in St. Peter's parish.⁴ Therefore, it was not mere sensationalism when he pleaded: "Deathbed after deathbed is coming upon us--it may be your turn next,"⁵ and "I fear much that there are many souls now hearing me that will probably be in hell in a short time."⁶ Indeed, he felt that he was far too negligent in this regard: "Ah! when I stand beside these open graves, I am ashamed at myself for speaking so little."⁷

1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Isaiah 61:1, Nov. 1837.

2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Acts 7:59, Aug. 1837.

3. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, Jan. 25, 1836.

4. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Job 14:1, 2, February, 1842.

5. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Jer. 13:15-17, Dec., 1837.

6. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Isaiah 30:25, 26, 1840.

7. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Job 14:1, 2, Feb. 1842.

Such preaching, while not so highly regarded today, contributed much to the fervor of Evangelicalism, which constantly reminded the people that although it seemed inconsequential to be "Christless" now, "there is a day coming, when your bitter cry will be heard throughout all the caverns of hell: Woe is me! I am Christless, I am Christless!"¹

McCheyne's thought regarding the balance of love and fear was well formulated, and emerged in his concept of spiritual awakening and conversion. On first glance at his writings, it would appear that he capriciously dealt with the love of Christ, and then the wrath of God, with little concern for consistency of thought. Deeper inquiry, however, reveals an over-all pattern.

He stressed three divisions into which all mankind was divided: 1) the "natural heart", 2) the "awakened heart", and 3) the "believing heart."² Accordingly, there were two steps through which sinners passed in salvation: the awakening, and conversion. In the first group were those who, through ignorance, indifference, or rejection, had no interest in their spiritual welfare. Their hearts were pictured as "sound and unbroken" and harder than stone. It was to these people that McCheyne most regularly addressed himself--to "awaken" them to be concerned for their souls:

1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Isaiah 40:1-3, March, 1843. Thomas Guthrie similarly stated: "It is vain, it is false, to say that we have got no warning. Yon coffin warns you--yon sick-bed warns you--yon grave warns you." Miller, (ed.) Sermons for Sabbath Evenings, p. 35).

2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Psalm 51:17.

Woe to you that are at ease in Zion. Woe to those of you that never asked the question--wherewith shall I come before the Lord? Ah foolish triflers with eternal things--poor butterflies that flutter on from flower to flower and consider not the dark eternity that is before you. Prepare to meet thy God, oh Israel. Ye are hastening on to death and judgment, yet never ask, What garment shall cover me when I stand before the great white throne?¹

Here McChesney stressed the note of terror, to impress upon them the danger of their situation in the light of God's righteous judgment: "The first look to Christ makes the sinner mourn. . . He sees the wrath of God against sin--that God is holy, and must avenge sin--that he can by no means clear the guilty--he sees that God's wrath is infinite."² The sinner was urged to consider the demands of the Law, his own sinfulness, his peril as death and eternity drew near, and his helplessness in the face of all this. The picture was grave: "Unconverted men are under condemnation. The sword is whetted and furbished. They are in the pit . . . They are condemned already."³

But more than a mere knowledge of his wickedness and of the revelation of God's anger against his sin, the sinner must have a sense of the dreadfulness of sin. This was McChesney's reason for his lengthened analysis of wickedness, and vivid portrayals of death and hell; it was not to pronounce judgment upon the unconverted, but to awaken them to "flee from the wrath to come."

1. McChesney, MS. sermon, Micah 6:6-8.

2. McChesney, MS. sermon, Zech. 12:10-13:1, April, 1840.

3. McChesney, MS. sermon, Ezek. 21:9, 10, July, 1837.

Once the sinner was roused to see his true condition, he passed into the awakened state, where his heart was "wounded, but not broken."¹ He might continue in this state for a short period of time, or it might be at great length. Regardless of how long it was, he was in a precarious position, for he was no longer satisfied with his old way of life, nor was he assured of salvation. He had separated himself from his family and friends, who subjected him to scorn and ridicule; but he was not yet certain of his status among "the elect." McCheyne made it clear that anxiety and concern were not to be confused with salvation, and that God was "not obliged to bring you into Christ."² Thus, the awakened person was sad and distressed; and it was at this point that the emotions were generally aroused, as much weeping gave evidence to the fearful feeling that, having been awakened to see his hazardous state, the individual might not be delivered from it: "Anxious souls do not praise God nor glorify him. They do not sing psalms, they are not merry. They are much in prayer for they are much afflicted--but they do not abound in praise . . . Now their heart is sad and weary."³

Having been awakened, the sinner generally underwent outward reformation, putting away such things as drunkenness and swearing.⁴ But he needed to see that his own righteousness and amendment would not suffice; he needed to be changed from

1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Psalm 51:17.

2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Genesis 19:26, 1837.

3. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Psalm 86:12,13, May, 1837.

4. McCheyne, MS. sermon, John 7:37, Oct. 1837.

within. This was where McChesney introduced his message of love, for where the Law and hell were able to awaken, it was only the Gospel and heaven that could draw.¹ The sinner was urged to take another look at Christ, and rejoice as he saw "the other half of the truth--the love of God to the lost--that God has provided a Surety free to all. It is this that fills the soul with joy."² Having looked inwardly and been convicted of sin, the awakened man must then see the nature of God's love, and be convicted of righteousness:³ "It is not a look into your own heart--or the heart of hell--but into the heart of Christ that breaks the heart. Oh pray for this broken heart."⁴

As he saw the loveliness and righteousness of God in Christ, the sinner was brought into the state of true joy by "just believing what God said about his Son to be true,"⁵ and casting himself helplessly upon Christ for his salvation. This resulted in a change in every area of life--the convert became a new creature in understanding, affections, disposition, and temper.⁶ But all of these gifts were received together with Christ: "It is vain to talk of experiences, and awakenings, and joys . . . If you have not the Spirit of Christ, you are none of His."⁷ Through the working of the Spirit there was assurance and satisfaction:

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1. McChesney, MS. notes in Study Bible, Jer. 3:10.
 2. McChesney, MS. sermon, Zech. 12:10-13:1, April, 1840.
 3. McChesney, MS. sermon, Hosea 6:4, Oct., 1840.
 4. McChesney, MS. sermon, Psalm 51:17.
 5. McChesney, Sermon, Matt. 11:28, Memoir, p. 87.
 6. McChesney, MS. sermon, II Cor. 5:17, March 6, 20, 1836.
 7. McChesney, MS. sermon, I John 3:10-16, March, 1840.

A flash of terror may bring a man to his knees, but will not bring him to Christ. Ah! no, love must draw . . . When once a man gets a sight of the supreme excellence and sweetness of Christ--when he sees his fulness for pardon, peace, and holiness--he will never draw back . . . The heart that has once seen Christ is smit with the love of him. . .¹

Thus, with all his evangelistic zeal and desire for the conversion of sinners, McCheyne did not jump to conclude that all were Christians who began to have a deep concern about their spiritual welfare, as he stated: "You know that I am rather slow of coming to this conviction, and not fond of speaking when I have not good evidence."² He put the number at "thousands" who were awakened during his ministry (and who at the present day would probably be considered to be Christians), but whose ardor cooled down, being fired by the wrong motive.³ Many, he felt, were interested only in being delivered from the horrors of hell, and not in being saved from enslavement to sin. The only true motive for salvation was the desire for holiness and fellowship with God, and not merely the escape of impending punishment.⁴

One of the most outstanding features of McCheyne's thought was his adherence to a thoroughgoing Calvinism. Unlike many who have been termed "Whosoever will Calvinists" because of their attempts to reconcile the two lines of thought,⁵

1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Hosea 6:4, Oct. 1840.

2. McCheyne, letter to A. Thain, Memoir, p. 274.

3. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Hosea 6:4, Oct. 1840.

4. McCheyne, MS. sermon, I Thes. 5:23, Oct. 1837; I John 3:4-10, 1840; Is. 53:1-3, Nov. 1840.

5. Cf. J. Edwin Orr, The Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain, p. 231, where he so described C. O. Finney. G. F. Barbour, in The Life of Alexander Whyte, stated that Whyte "had

he stressed the sovereignty of God in such a way that it would seem to be incompatible with evangelism. His belief in this was so deeprooted that it came to the fore even in his warmest appeals to sinners:

Ah, learn there is enough for you all. I know well that none but God's elect people will be persuaded to come to the blood of Christ--yet there is enough in Christ for you all--there is enough for you and you and you--enough for all the world if they would but come.¹

From the time of his conversion in 1831, McCheyne had been intrigued by the doctrine of election,² and in his courses from Chalmers³ and his reading of such as Jonathan Edwards⁴ he found it presented in a way that exalted God. This became an integral part of his thought, as he was heard to exult: "Oh! most mysterious electing love!";⁵ and as he noted at the end of his record of a "cottage lecture": "May the Spirit come down to bless the word this day, that as many as are ordained to eternal life may believe."⁶

In the sovereignty of God, McCheyne laid stress upon His love and glory. Election itself was the result of His pity for all, and it was love that caused Him to choose those who would be saved, even though others were passed by: "Nothing

less to say about Election than about the inability of the human will to raise and redeem itself" (p. 119). McCheyne's colleague, W. C. Burns was urged to include more of God's sovereignty in his sermons (Moody Stuart, Duncan, p. 53).

1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Isaiah 9:6, 1838.

2. Memoir, p. 22.

3. McCheyne, MS. notes of Chalmers' classes, Notebook VII.

4. Cf. McCheyne's frequent quotations of Edwards, as in Christian's Daily Companion, p. 266.

5. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Deut. 33:29, Jan. 1837.

6. McCheyne, MS. notes, July 26, 1837, Notebook X, p. 323.

so wonderful as that Christ should love any . . . Another wonder that when he loved any he loved me. Every believer knows more evil of himself than any other . . . Every sinner feels it an infinite wonder--he loved me!"¹ Further, it was not so much a question of the fairness involved in the election of some to eternal life and others to eternal punishment; the significant factor was that, either in heaven or hell, the individual would bring glory to God:

You will be made to glorify him in one way or another. You will do it willingly or unwillingly. You must form a step to his throne. Ah, brethren, I believe each of you will yet be . . . either a beacon of wrath or a monument of mercy . . . Yes, wicked man, you would rob God of his glory if you could, but you cannot. If you come to Christ, you will show forth his glory in saving you; but, if you do not, God will show forth his power in destroying a vessel of his wrath.²

God's choice of individuals, disregarding their goodness or badness, was another indication of His love, and resulted in his glorification. To amplify this, McCheyne time and again cited the many instances in nature and Scripture in which God so acted: in the blind, lame, dumb, rich, and poor; in Abraham's calling; in Christ's ministry in Capernaum and not Nazareth. He asked, Why man and not the angels? "He passed by the gate of hell. . . He raised no cross of Calvary

1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Rev. 1:5, Aug. 1840.

2. McCheyne, Sermon, Rom. 9:22, 23, March, 1843, ("The Vessels of Wrath Fitted to Destruction"). Concerning this sermon, which centered around God's sovereignty and wrath, George Gilfillan wrote: "His views of the character of the Most High, expressed in that same sermon, were little else than LIBELLOUS. . ." ("Bundle of Books," loc. cit.). Gilfillan's own preaching was described by Carlyle as "bare old Calvinism, under penalty of death." (Watson, Gilfillan, p. 87.)

in hell"; why Scotland, and not other nations?; why some men and not others? "You are no better than the sinners around you . . . and yet he has passed them all by and chosen you to salvation."¹

Thus it was only through the work of God by the Holy Spirit that the hearts of sinners were melted. The most powerful preaching, the presentation of the strongest possible arguments, even the demonstration of God's wrath and love, "can give you nothing more than a natural impression."² It was only when God "pours out the Spirit with the word," that the soul was powerfully inclined to run to Jesus,³ for "The Lord must work all that he may have all the praise."⁴

Although McCheyne firmly held this doctrine of God's election, he never allowed it to shake his trust in the power of the Gospel, nor to diminish his fervor in the offer of mercy: "There is no man, woman or child to whom we do not offer Christ and salvation."⁵ It was the will of God that all should be saved, and that none should perish. If one sinner was invited to flee to Christ, then all were invited:

Nobody ever came to Christ because they knew themselves to be of the elect. It is quite true that God has of his mere good pleasure elected some to everlasting life, but they never knew it till they came to Christ. Christ nowhere invites the elect to come to him. The question for you is not, Am I one of the elect? but, Am I of the human race?⁶

1. McCheyne, MS. sermons, Heb. 11:1-12, Sept. 1838; II Thes. 2:13, July 1841.

2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Ezek. 37:1-14, Dec. 1836.

3. McCheyne, Christian's Daily Companion, p. 265.

4. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Acts 9, 1837.

5. McCheyne, MS. notes, Acts 16:14-34, Notebook III, p. 100.

6. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Proverbs 8:4, Nov. 1838.

Here, the thorough-going Calvinist became the importunate evangelist, as he placed the question of acceptance or rejection squarely upon the sinner's shoulders, so that in the same sermon that he said: "God only can bend your will to come to Christ," he also declared: "Sinners are lost, not by reason of anything in Christ, but by reason of something in themselves."¹ Despite the election of God, sinners would not be brought to Christ against their will. For this argument, McCheyne went to the experience of Jesus, who, if no one else was able, "could reconcile these things:" "He could have opened the book of life and showed them that their names were never written there--that they were reprobates; but he chose this reason--'Ye will not come'."² Thus he urged:

O sinner! it is true that God has no pleasure in your dying, but had rather that you would turn from your wicked ways and live. God honestly, sincerely, and with all his heart, beseeches you to be reconciled through the blood of Jesus . . . Why has he spared you out of hell to this day? only because 'he is not willing that any should perish'.³

McCheyne was not trying to be a theological gymnast in regard to these two aspects of conversion. Rather, he believed them both: "The whole Bible declares predestination. The whole Bible declares that man is free . . . Now, even though I could not reconcile the two, yet I could believe both." Thus, if a person were lost, it was flatly because of two reasons: "1) From all eternity you were ordained to be lost. 2) The only being you can blame will be yourself--for God wished you to be

1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, John 5:40, July, 1840.

2. McCheyne, Sermon, John 5:40, Oct. 1842.

3. McCheyne, Christian's Daily Companion, p. 292.

saved, but you would not."¹

He was assured of the supreme validity of the doctrine of election, and that it must be proclaimed widely, ascribing glory to God. In his evangelistic appeals, however, he argued that it was impossible to know who was elect, and that his duty was to give all the opportunity to receive Christ. Yet he knew that sinners simply would not come unless God had so ordained, and that those who were elect would not be saved unless they believed the truth.²

McCheyne's maintenance of a balance between these opposing concepts was not necessarily novel. The wonder is that this man whose ministry was so concerned with evangelism elevated the doctrine of election to such a high place--refusing to soft-pedal it for the sake of a less difficult offer of salvation to all men--always asking, "Oh, have you got this sweet electing faith . . .?"³

Together with God's act of justification, McCheyne laid emphasis upon His work of sanctification as a means of making election sure. This work was not to be separated from justification in point of time, although it was a continuing process: "The moment the soul cleaves to the Lord Jesus, the Holy Spirit takes up his abode in that bosom."⁴ In fact, so closely were justification and sanctification united that McCheyne could say:

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1. McCheyne, MS. notes on Catechism, Notebook VII.
 2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, II Thes. 2:13, July, 1841.
 3. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Job 33:16-26, Sept. 1838.
 4. McCheyne, Christian's Daily Companion, p. 286.

"If you are not made holy, tell me not of your faith in Jesus."¹

This was the positive aspect of conversion, in which each believer, having been redeemed from the power of sin, was being made in the image of the Father: "Christ's work is not done with a soul when he has brought it to pardon--when he has washed it with his own blood. Oh, no! the better half of salvation remains--the great work of sanctification remains."²

Just as it was God who had elected unto salvation, so it was

1. McChoyne, MS. sermon, I Thes. 5:23, Oct. 1837. It has been stated that the roots of the "Keswick" doctrine of sanctification "can easily" be traced, among other Calvinists, Wesleyans and mystics, to the Memoir of McChoyne (W. H. Griffith Thomas, in The Keswick Convention, ed. by C. F. Harford, p. 223). According to this teaching, sanctification is begun as the result of a second crisis, in which the Christian fully receives the Spirit, as he had previously received Christ. This is stated in such terms as ". . . it is tragically possible to have a saved soul and a lost life. It is tragically easy to be converted to Christ, yet not consecrated to Christ. It is the easiest thing in the world to give Jesus Christ your sin without giving Him yourself." (Tom Rees, "Resurrection Life and Power," preached at Keswick, July 15, 1956, quoted in The Life of Faith, July 19, 1956, p. 502). J. I. Packer, "Keswick and the Reformed Doctrine of Sanctification," in The Evangelical Quarterly, July, 1955, pp. 153 ff., indicts this teaching as presented in the authoritative statement of Keswick teaching by Stephen Barabas, So Great Salvation. From this work, Packer concludes that this doctrine is Pelagian in making man the master, and the Holy Spirit the employee in the work of sanctification. He also opposes the view that this work can be perfected in this life, bringing complete victory. Such views are also far removed from McChoyne's thought on the matter. Some light may be thrown on this by noting McChoyne's two-step procedure in salvation: awakening and conversion; as contrasted with the two-fold Keswickian view of salvation-sanctification. McChoyne stressed a period before conversion--to be unsanctified was merely to be a "nominal" Christian, outwardly decent. The Keswick tendency is to admit more readily to salvation, the "crisis" of sanctification following after. The statement by Griffith Thomas might well have resulted from Andrew Bonar's later-life interest in this teaching of holiness and the Keswick movement (cf. J. Elder Cuming's tribute to Bonar in Ferguson, op. cit., p. 141).

2. McChoyne, Sermon, Eph. 5:25-27, Jan. 1841.

He who performed the work of sanctification. All the individual could do was to throw himself upon God's grace, being "willing no longer to go about establishing your own holiness any more than your own righteousness."¹ It was only after the Holy Spirit had awakened the soul, and "softened" the rocky heart until it was inclined to receive Christ by faith, that He took up His abode there, giving the believer the will and the ability to serve God.²

The work of sanctification was never perfected in this life, even though the Christian had been released from bondage to sin: "There is not a moment of life from the new birth to glory without sin."³ For while Christians had received the perfect righteousness of Christ, which would never be brighter, they were still plagued with bodies of sin, from which they could never be free in this life.⁴ Nevertheless, they were urged to continue seeking "the deliciousness of holiness"⁵—praying for the outpouring of the Spirit, and confiding in the promise that sin should not have dominion over them. Indeed, the very fact of Christian despondency was proof that this promise had been fulfilled, for it indicated that sin was no longer the unchallenged ruler:

The dominion of sin hath been shaken to its basement. Lust no longer holds a sceptre over the breast at ease. The war of the inner and outer man is begun—and there never shall be peace until thou art ushered into heaven.⁶

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1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Luke 15:1-10, April, 1835.
 2. McCheyne, Christian's Daily Companion, p. 260.
 3. McCheyne, MS. sermon, I John 3:4-10, 1840.
 4. McCheyne, sermon, Eph. 5:25-27, Jan., 1841.
 5. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Hebrews 1:13-2:1, Aug. 1840.
 6. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Matt. 11:1-15, July, 1835.

McChoyne also clearly stated that there must be evidence in the lives of believers of the change that had taken place. Through good works, they were to verify the reality of the mercy which had been shown to them, although external observances were not to be considered as means of sanctification.¹ Such basic points of behavior as politeness, cleanness, punctuality, temper, speech, Christian activity, and honesty were listed as indicative of the Christian life. There should be delight for God's house, day, Word, and people. The poor should be cared for. All honorable worldly engagements, and the use of money, time, and influence, were lawful, "provided you are trading for Christ . . . so that he gets the glory of it."² Most important was the witness of Christians to others, for if they loved Christ, believers would speak of Him to their families, friends, and fellow-workers:

The great reason of our having so many dark Christians now-a-days is, that we have so many selfish Christians. Men live for themselves. If you would live for others, then your darkness would flee away. Commend Christ to others, and they will go with you.³

All of McChoyne's preaching--for Christians and non-Christians alike--was charged with the urgency of the time and the imminent return of Jesus Christ. This, according to Mathieson, was a feature of the preaching of the early nineteenth century with much speculation as to whether

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1. McChoyne, MS. sermon, Rom. 2:28, 29, Nov., 1836.
 2. McChoyne, MS. sermon, Luke 19:11, July, 1840.
 3. McChoyne, sermon, Song of Solomon 5:2-16, 1837.

Anti-Christ had been overthrown in the person of Napoleon-- and it held the attention of people of divergent theological viewpoints.¹

The preaching of Edward Irving had great impact upon McChoyne's generation in regard to this, and many of McChoyne's friends came to adhere to the orator's view of the pre-millennial advent of Christ. Notable among these were the brothers Horatius and Andrew Bonar, who had given rapt attention as Irving explained the symbols and visions of Revelation in his crowded meetings in Edinburgh in 1828-30. It was at this time that Andrew had begun to show an interest in spiritual matters, and Irving's personality and preaching played no small part in his conversion, as he wrote in his diary some time before that event: "[I] am persuaded now that his views of the coming of Christ are truth."²

There is no evidence, however, that McChoyne had heard Irving at that time. McChoyne was not as yet so concerned about Christianity as he was after 1831, and it was not until then that he became intimate with the Bonars. Thus, the exuberant power of Irving was lacking when the doctrine was relayed to him. McChoyne doubtless was given many a lecture concerning this system from his friends,³ and in his notes is

1. William Law Mathieson, Church and Reform in Scotland, p. 264.

2. Marjorie Bonar, ed., Andrew A. Bonar: Diary and Letters, p. 5.

3. Both Bonar brothers wrote much on the subject: cf. Andrew Bonar, Redemption Drawing Nigh, in which he tended to assume that only those who held similar views were looking for a personal advent of Christ; and Horatius Bonar, Prophetical Landmarks. Both of these were engaged in controversy by David

a list of "Rules for Interpreting Symbolical Prophecy", which he had received from Andrew Bonar.¹ He read from Irving himself.² But in spite of his intimacy with this doctrine, McCheyne, as has already been alluded, never adopted it and its ramifications fully. So indecisive was he, that as late as 1843 he began a list entitled: "Passages that seem to be anti-millennarian."³ And even the staunchly pre-millennial Andrew Bonar admitted that McCheyne "had difficulties of his own in regard to it."⁴

Aside from the feeling that he was living in the "eleventh hour" (which was essentially the result of his intense desire for the return of "the Beloved"), and the certainty that all prophecy would be fulfilled to the letter, McCheyne repeatedly admitted to uncertainty as to the details which surrounded the second coming, emphasizing only the basic factors, e.g., "Christians differ widely as to the time when Christ shall come. The diversity is not to be wondered at . . .";⁵ and "What that glorious world shall be I cannot tell . . . But

Brown, Christ's Second Coming, who insisted that Christ's church will be complete at His coming, and that those who "love His appearing" were not confined to pre-millennialists. (pp. 309, 487 ff.)

1. McCheyne, MS. notebook III, p. 15.

2. McCheyne, MS. notebook III, pp. 9-11. It will be remembered that at Irving's death, McCheyne wrote of "all his delusions and errors" (Memoir, p. 37.)

3. McCheyne, MS. notebook XIII.

4. Memoir, p. 93. Cf. Macleod, op. cit., pp. 277, 278, and K. Moody Stuart, Alexander Moody Stuart, p. 70, where McCheyne's name is inaccurately linked with the names of the Bonars and others of the "Evangelical light infantry" as firmly adhering to the pre-millennial view. A. Bonar, who was never hesitant to point out those who agreed with him in this teaching, never so much as hinted in the Memoir that McCheyne was one of them.

5. McCheyne, Christian's Daily Companion, p. 258.

one thing is certain, 'Therein dwelleth righteousness!'"¹

Nevertheless, he gave an important place in his ministry to the return of Christ, stating: "Faith in Christ is incomplete unless we believe in a coming Saviour."² He was convinced that it could take place at any time, and therefore it behooved all people to be prepared for it--living in the present for the sake of the future. But he did not give this doctrine any more significance than that it was a fact, and since it was so, it should result in watchful diligence and urgency. He recorded in his diary: ". . . how the sudden coming of the Saviour constrains to a holy walk, separate from sin."³

It was said of the Bonars that the Second Advent, as they interpreted it from Revelation 20, was "the keynote of their song, the keynote of their system."⁴ However, McCheyne's moderate position (which Chalmers favored as the result of discussing this matter with these men in their student days⁵), is seen in the following:

I am far from discouraging those who seek to enquire from prophecy when the coming of the Saviour shall be--it is a most interesting enquiry--and it shows us little caring about the Saviour if we care little about the time.

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1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, II Peter 3:14, May, 1842.
 2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Mark 13:24-27, 1837.
 3. McCheyne, diary entry for Oct. 14, 1838, Memoir, p. 91.
 4. John James Bonar, in Memorial of Horatius Bonar, pp. 97 ff. It must be underscored that the pre-millennialism of the Bonars was devoid of elaborate trappings (cf. Macleod, op. cit., p. 277), so that even George Gilfillan could write in 1850: "Surely the time has gone by when that view durst be branded by any church as a heresy." (Hogg's Instructor, Vol. V, p. 73.)
 5. Vide supra; cf. George Smith, Modern Apostle, p. 13.

Neither am I an enemy to those who argue from what they see in the church and the world that the time is at hand . . . But what we are here taught is . . . 1) Christ shall come; 2) He shall come suddenly.¹

Confident of the "blessed hope" of Christ's coming, McCheyne exhorted his people to pray for a swift return (when "he that went away a nobleman shall return a king"²), and the establishment of the saints in perfect holiness; and to live with everything in readiness for that day.

The emphasis of such doctrines as these, by one who was overwhelmingly concerned with the conversion of his people, and who was able to combine evangelism with acceptable homiletics, made Robert McCheyne prosperous in what he called "awakening preaching." The fact that the people heard him gladly--progressively filling every nook and corner of his church as the years went on--and that such a number of them were awakened and converted, cannot but verify his ability as a preacher. Fleming remarked on McCheyne's "intense earnestness" as being "powerfully instrumental in translating dry dogmatism into living faith and practice."³ Yet, in determining the factors which went into this achievement, the power of the Holy Spirit--bringing results such as others of similar talents and dedication did not receive--must be recognized to have been the basic and decisive cause of success.

1. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Mark 13:34-37, 1837.

2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Luke 19:11, July, 1840.

3. Fleming, History, pp. 7, 8.

If the preaching appears to have been limited in scope and emphasis, it was within the confines of what McChoyne considered to have been of supreme importance for the people of his parish--to penetrate their consciences with the awareness of God's judgment upon them, and to lead them to turn from their wickedness to God's forgiveness through the work of Jesus Christ. As a result of this urgent preaching, St. Peter's was the scene of continual awakening and countless conversions, and it was prominently and lastingly involved in the Awakening of 1839.

CHAPTER SIX

THE DEPUTY IN MISSIONARY ACTIVITY (1839-1840)

One field yet remains, and if my feeble voice could induce you to dare to be out and out a missionary church, it would not be long unoccupied--God's ancient people the Jews!

--July 10, 1840
Belfast

THE DEPUTY IN MISSIONARY ACTIVITY

"Like most of the churches of the Reformation, the Church of Scotland was slow to discover its responsibility to the non-Christian world."¹ Thus A. J. Campbell summarized the lack of missionary spirit in Scotland until the nineteenth century. Although the "Scots Confession" of 1561 declared the Scottish Church to be a missionary Church, little had been done other than to consider in 1647 the propagation of the gospel "to those who are without," to support the ill-fated Darien Expedition of 1699 (a mercantile endeavor), and to commend the work of David Brainerd in 1743.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, however, expansion of British power and discovery, coupled with the Evangelical Revival,² led to an awakening to the needs of the non-Christian world. Modern foreign missions began with the departure of William Carey to India in 1793. This was followed two years later by the founding of the London Missionary Society, which was soon imitated in the major cities of England and Scotland.

1. Campbell, op. cit., p. 152.

2. G. D. Henderson, The Claims of the Church of Scotland, p. 210.

The enthusiasm soon reached the General Assembly, where in 1736 the Synods of Moray and Fife presented overtures in favor of foreign missions. Following an historic and vehement debate the overtures were rejected as being untimely, and a more gradual course was followed for the next three decades.¹

Although the rise of missions is attributed largely to the Evangelical Revival, it is noteworthy that several prominent Moderates were strong in its support. In 1813, due partly to the cooperating agitation of both parties, the East India Company opened the door to chaplains in India. Through the leadership of such Moderates as John Inglis as well as such Evangelicals as Chalmers, a committee (under the chairmanship of Inglis) was finally set up in 1825 to manage a mission to India.² In 1829 Alexander Duff of Moulin, a student of Chalmers, was sent out--the widely-heralded first missionary of the Church of Scotland--and missionary interest grew rapidly.

Robert McChesney grew up in this atmosphere of missionary excitement. Through his brother he had already had contact with India. Much of his earliest Christian reading had been in the field of missionary biography. Shortly after his conversion he wrote: "Thought with more comfort

1. G. D. Henderson, Short History, p. 122. This was generally the official position of the Dissenters also.

2. G. C. McCrie, The Church of Scotland: Her Divisions and Re-Unions, p. 108.

than usual of being a witness for Jesus in a foreign land."¹
 He had been secretary of the Missionary Society at the Divinity Hall, and in the Spring of 1835 became acquainted with Duff when he returned on his first furlough. According to Duff's biographer, this friendship with McCheyne and Somerville aided in giving Duff greater encouragement, "for he reasoned that if any number of the divinity students were like these, the India Mission would never lack men worthy of it."²

In a letter approving Duff's revolutionary system--educating native Christians to preach to their own people--McCheyne described his feelings about the white man's record with less civilized people:

What a singular day will it be when all nations are gathered before Christ's throne--white and black--Europeans, Africans, Indians. Shall not the Hindoos rise up in judgment against the white man and condemn him, saying "You made yourself rule on the fatness of our land--you regaled yourself with our delicacies--you clothed your wives and daughters with our silks--you loaded them with the jewels and costly pearls which you gathered on our shores. Just you kept from us the pearl of price--the true jewel--the bread of life--the fountain of living water." The only excuse I fear our European friends will have to give will be a sorry one--that they themselves knew not the value of these things.³

His enthusiasm continued as he entered the pastorate. He advocated thorough acquaintance with missionary subjects and intelligence, so as to foster a spirit of intercession,

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1. McCheyne, diary entry, May 19, 1832, Memoir, p. 27.
 2. George Smith, The Life of Alexander Duff, p. 125.
 3. McCheyne, MS. letter to Wm. McCheyne, April 8, 1835.

help kindle personal holiness, and lead to more anxious watching for the coming of the kingdom.¹ To this end he wrote popular articles about missionaries and their converts,² describing certain heathen practices as a means of showing the desperate need of pagans.³ These writings were emphasized and elaborated repeatedly from the pulpit.⁴ Through such literature and preaching, according to MacKichan in his Chalmers Lectures, the evangelical life of Scotland was nourished, combining "the well-being and the well-doing of the Christian Church."⁵

McCheyne and his church became prominent for missionary support. In addition to regularly scheduled services where specific efforts and individuals were studied and prayed for,⁶ there were many occasions when the church was the meeting-place for mission agencies and societies. At these meetings the chairmen were often members of St. Peter's.⁷ The Advertiser once listed the giving of the city's churches to a fund for Irish missions, in which

1. McCheyne, "Missions," in The Scottish Christian Herald, March 5, 1836, pp. 10-12; "Reformation", Notebook VIII, and Memoir, p. 165.

2. McCheyne, articles in Herald: "Sudden Conversions," May 28, 1836, pp. 203 f.; "Abdool Messoe, an Indian Convert," March 18, 1837, pp. 163-165; "Sabat the Arabian," Feb. 25, 1837, pp. 114-117; "The First Fruits," April 9, 1836, pp. 94 f.

3. McCheyne, "Prayer to the Dead," in Herald, March 26, 1836, pp. 60 f.

4. E.g. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Mark 16:15, March 5, 1837.

5. D. MacKichan, The Missionary Ideal in the Scottish Church, p. 110.

6. Hewat, op. cit., p. 99.

7. Cf. Dundee Advertiser, March 30, 1838.

McCheyne and St. Peter's accounted for almost half of the total.¹ Further, he was often a guest speaker at missionary gatherings in other towns.²

As time went by, missionary interest in the Scottish Church broadened. Whereas attention at first had been focused upon India abroad and the highlands and islands at home, by the late 1830's it included the populous lowland districts and the British colonies in general.

But nothing captured the imagination and aroused the interest of the Scottish Church so much as when in 1838 it turned its attention to the Jews scattered throughout the world. Scotsmen such as Rutherford in the seventeenth century had long thought about their responsibility to these people.³ In London a Jewish society was formed in 1809, and its influence spread to Scotland,⁴ where, it was said, many of the characteristics of the Hebrews found parallel expression.⁵ By 1838 public attention had been solicited and prayer meetings had been held for the Jews. At the Assembly that year, no less than sixteen overtures were presented

1. Ibid., Dec. 4, 1840.

2. McCheyne, MS. letter to Parents, Feb. 15, 1837. Here he described, with candor, speaking "to a breathless audience," and farmers "coming out with their shillings who had spoken against it before."

3. Rutherford, Letters, XIV, L, etc., where he prayed for the "incoming of the kirk of the Jews."

4. Ministers of the Church of Scotland, The Conversion of the Jews, p. vi.

5. Kenneth Moody Stuart, Alexander Moody Stuart, p. 145, listed the similarities, including: love for the Old Testament, love of own land, simplicity of worship, love of Sabbath, and "adaptability of settling in all lands and making money in them."

concerning the Jews. Moderates and Evangelicals were united in looking for the conversion of the whole race and its return to Palestine. Great pride was taken in the fact that this was the first such act by any Christian denomination,¹ and this enthusiasm was enhanced by the conversion and baptism of two Jews in Scotland and the preaching of a third.²

A committee was appointed, of which McCheyne was one of the hundred members. Its purpose was to ascertain the numbers, condition and character of the Jewish people in Palestine and Europe; to discover what means had been previously employed for their spiritual good, and the success of such enterprises; and to seek possible locations for mission stations. Full powers were given to take all measures at home and abroad for the advancement of this cause.³ At first the inquiry was conducted by correspondence to missionaries and public officials abroad. But "by a series of striking providences" it was decided to send a deputation to make personal observation and report directly to the Church.⁴

In these striking providences Robert McCheyne and Robert Candlish were key figures. Toward the end of 1838 McCheyne became victim to "palpitation of the heart" which increased even in his more quiet activities. Accustomed to abundant medical care, he had earlier that year displayed his humor

1. Ministers of the Established Church in Glasgow, A Course of Lectures on the Jews, pp. iii, vi.

2. McCheyne, diary entry, Oct. 22, 1838, Memoir, p. 91.

3. Norrie, op. cit., p. 82.

4. Proceedings of the General Assembly, May 25, 1839.

in the midst of it all:

I have humbled and tossed under many diseases,
And long have I lingered in thrall;
But now I've found out that the doctor himself is
The worst lingering disease of them all.¹

He was advised to go to his parents' home in Edinburgh for a complete rest, which he did reluctantly. During one of his many visits with Candlish at this time, Candlish (con-
vener of the Edinburgh section of the Jewish Committee), who had been concerned about McCheyne's health, suddenly conceived the idea of a deputation. "In those days," wrote Andrew Bonar, "his love for Robert McCheyne was very interesting. . . it was his anxiety for McCheyne's health that led to the idea of the mission to the Jews and the visit to Palestine."²

Nothing could have been more opportune for McCheyne. It gratified his persistent desire for missionary enterprise and promised to be the means of restoring his health. He was singularly qualified for the task, having been deeply attracted to the Old Testament from his student days, and always having what one contemporary magazine called an "affectionate enthusiasm for the Jews and everything Jewish."³ Some months before the Assembly's decision he had written to Bonar:

1. McCheyne, MS. letter to Wm. McCheyne, Feb. 6, 1838.

2. William Wilson, Memorials of Robert Smith Candlish, p. 68.

3. "Church of Scotland's Mission to Palestine," in The Presbyterian Review and Religious Journal, July 1842, p. 176. See also MS. Notebook V, pp. 59, 60 for lists of "Stimulants to Missionary Exertion" and "Jewish Missions," begun in 1831.

I quite agree with you in thinking them the first object of all missionary exertion, and hope hereafter to devote more and more of my thoughts and prayer to them. . .¹

That this interest was genuine is also seen in his

"Collections for the Jews."²

McCheyne contended that the basis for vital concern for the Jews was the literal interpretation of prophecy:

"The moment a man begins to take the statements of the Word of God as literally true, that moment he begins to care for Israel."³ Feeling that "You should always keep up a knowledge of the prophecies regarding Israel,"⁴ he later compiled a list of "Prophecies I have Seen Fulfilled."⁵ Thus, he was firmly convinced, together with many others, that the Jews must be restored to their native land, and that through this and their conversion they would "give life to a dead world."⁶

He wrote:

To seek the lost sheep of the house of Israel is an object very near to my heart, as my people know it has ever been. Such an enterprise may probably draw down unspeakable blessings on the Church of Scotland, according to the promise, "they shall prosper who love thee."⁷

The news of his appointment was received by his people of St. Peter's with mixed feelings. In Edinburgh he was sent many letters--some simply written--in which loyalty and concern

1. McCheyne, Letter to A. A. Bonar, Jan. 19, 1838, in Marjorie Bonar, Reminiscences of Andrew A. Bonar, p. 11.

2. McCheyne, MS. Notebook X, dated Jan. and Feb. 1833.

3. McCheyne, MS. Sermon, Feb. 9, 1842, Notebook XIII.

4. Memoir, p. 97.

5. McCheyne, MS. Notebook X, p. 367.

6. McCheyne, MS. Sermon, Jan. 18, 1838, Notebook I, p. 91.

7. Memoir, p. 97.

were expressed,¹ Many felt that the trip would be too strenuous for him and that he would be away from them too long. But being "reluctant to raise any obstacle" his kirk-session agreed to the appointment.²

To accompany McChoyne, the Committee also delegated Dr. Alexander Black, Professor of Divinity in Marischal College, Aberdeen; Dr. Alexander Keith, minister at St. Cyrus and author of many prophetic works; Robert Wodrow, an elder in Glasgow, who was finally unable to go; and Andrew Bonar. Because of his pre-millennial views Bonar's appointment came only after the overcoming of much opposition, such as was described by Somerville:

The sentiment seemed to prevail in the meeting that it was highly important that a Mission should take place, as proposed. The difficulty lies with the choice. They seem to feel the youth of the individuals a good deal--but all agreed that you should go. As to Andrew, I feel his millennarianism will knock the prospect of his going upon the head. . . . Mr. Candlish's letter was capital and did much good.³

Bonar was greatly disappointed and asked McChoyne to intercede on his behalf,⁴ which he and others did (stressing Bonar's value as a linguist⁵), and permission was granted

1. MS. letters, passim.

2. Kirk-Session of St. Peter's, MS. letter to McChoyne, Mar. 11, 1839. McChoyne encountered slight opposition from one of his enemies in the Presbytery who insisted that he had treated that body "cavalierly" and ought to have been "called to order before now." This was promptly ignored. Courier, April 9, 1839.

3. Somerville, MS. letter to McChoyne, March 1, 1839.

4. Bonar, MS. letter to McChoyne, March 8, 1839.

5. McChoyne, MS. letter to James Grierson, March 9, 1839; also a letter quoted in Philip, Cowrie, p. 339, March 8.

eventually.

Money to finance the deputation poured in from all over the land. Records of giving were published, and often noted were the gifts which resulted from speaking engagements by McCheyne.¹ Largely because of this effort, the total giving for missions was fourteen times greater in 1839 than in 1834.²

With this was launched "one of the most remarkable missionary undertakings of modern times."³ Principal Hugh Watt has written:

No project of these days had quite the excitement and the thrill of the inquiry into the distribution and state of the Jews in Europe and in Palestine . . . No vessel was ever launched with greater acclamation and hope than the Church of Scotland's Jewish Mission.⁴

On March 27, 1839, McCheyne sailed for London to make final arrangements for the journey while the other deputies were attending rallies and completing their duties in Scotland. In London McCheyne was assisted by the Jewish and the Religious Tract Societies; he heard and met several prominent ministers such as Baptist Noel; he was warmly received and given letters of introduction by Sir George Grey, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Ashley, afterwards the Earl of Shaftesbury,⁵ and others. His activities in the capital, far from

1. HFMR, 1839, passim.

2. Hanna, Chalmers, IV, p. 90.

3. HFMR, July, 1841, p. 345.

4. Hugh Watt, Thomas Chalmers and the Disruption, p. 152.

5. McCheyne described Lord Ashley: ". . . a most interesting young man, who is deeply interested in the cause of Israel." (MS. letter to Family, April 12, 1839.)

leisurely, caused his father to ask: "Can't you take things more coolly?"¹

The other deputies arrived on April 9, and all were dedicated at a service at Regent Square Church the night before sailing from Dover, April 12. Watching the cliffs disappear, McCheyne wrote:

Who can tell when we shall look upon them again or in what circumstances--or if at all. We may see the shore of a better country--the true home, the heavenly--before then. . .²

Interest and enthusiasm in the Mission was maintained during the Deputation's absence by its letters to the committee at home, which were published in the national and foreign press.³ McCheyne's letters to his family, described as "among the most tender and touching and poetically interesting appeals on behalf of Israel that have ever been published,"⁴ were compiled posthumously,⁵ and betray his wide-eyed interest during the trip.

The deputies were shocked by the atmosphere of Roman Catholic France, where McCheyne noted: "There is a look of vice about the streets of Paris . . . which I never saw elsewhere . . . I do not think it can be lawful to a Christian to live in Paris."⁶

1. Adam McCheyne, MS. letter to McCheyne, April 6, 1839.

2. McCheyne, MS. Notebook VIII, April 12, 1839.

3. Cf. HFMR, July-Dec., 1839. The letters were published in Basle and Posen, Prussia (J. Bollson, MS. letter to McCheyne, April 23, 1840.)

4. Norrie, op. cit., p. 82.

5. A. McCheyne (ed.) Familiar Letters by the Rev. Robert M. McCheyne. (Cf. MS. Notebook IV.)

6. McCheyne, Notebook VIII, April 14, 15, 1839.

In Italy, where McCheyne noticed that "the very children here speak Italian!"¹ the Deputation received a sentence of perpetual banishment from the province of Tuscany for distributing literature.²

After sailing down the west coast of Italy, to Malta, and through the isles of Greece, the team landed in Egypt where their journey was characterized by the swaying motion of the camel. McCheyne described it:

When you find yourself exalted on the hunch of a camel, it is somewhat of the feeling of an aeronaut, as if you were bidding farewell to sub-lunary things; but when he begins to move, with solemn pace and slow, you are reminded of your terrestrial origin, and that a wrong balance or turn to the side will soon bring you down from your giddy height.³

It was here that the elderly Black, having been lulled to sleep, fell off, leading to an eventual separation of the team, since he was unable to continue on the proposed itinerary. The heat was unbearable, and McCheyne was often forced to lie a long while under a bush at the end of the day's ride before his strength returned.

All hardships were incidental, however, as they entered Palestine. Anticipation mounted as they approached Jerusalem, when McCheyne, unable to restrain himself, dismounted and ran ahead the last half hour until the city appeared in view.⁴ Several days were spent here, and the slightest detail seems

1. McCheyne, MS. letter to Sister, April 24, 1839.

2. Robert Murray McCheyne and Andrew A. Bonar, Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews, p. 31.

3. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, June 26, 1839.

4. Ibid.

not to have been overlooked, as the deputies traced the steps of Christ. In leaving their thought was:

May we never lose the feelings of intense compassion toward Israel, which these few days spent in Jerusalem awakened; and never rest till all the faithful of the church of our fathers have the same flame kindled in their hearts!¹

In the northern town of Beyrout the team separated-- Keith and Black agreeing to take a central route along the Danube to Holland and England, while the younger men remained in Galilee and returned by the northern route through Prussia.²

The Deputation visited every city and village in Palestine where Jews lived except Jaffa and two small towns. They learned that there were about 10,000 Jews, most having come from central Europe and Spain, hoping to gain salvation by dying in the Promised Land. They were generally strictly orthodox and looked for the coming of Messiah. They lived in poverty and responded to anyone, like the British, who showed them kindness. Because of this, and the fact that this was still the center of Judaism, the team felt that Palestine should be given first consideration in the establishment of mission stations.³

Just before sailing from Beyrout, McCheyne, who had been fighting for his health all along, contracted fever,

1. McCheyne and Bonar, Narrative, p. 197.

2. Ibid., p. 249.

3. Ibid., pp. 163 f, 284, 320 ff; McCheyne, MS. Notebook VIII, June 12, 1839.

and did not recover until he reached Constantinople after a series of starts and stops. He described it: "I felt my faculties going one by one and had every reason to expect that I should soon be with my God."¹

In the backward provinces along the western shores of the Black Sea, the deputies found the densest and most ignorant Jewish population following a lifeless ritual. In Moldavia and Wallachia they witnessed the celebrations of the New Year and of the Day of Atonement, part of the latter being recounted:

Every Jew this morning sacrificed a cock, and every Jewess a hen. Looking in at a window we saw the son reading the prayers, the mother standing with a white hen in her hands. At a certain point she waved the struggling fowl round her head three times, saying in Hebrew, "This is my atonement, this is my ransom, this is my expiation, this hen shall go to death and I to happy life." This was repeated thrice; the door opened and the boy sent off with the fowl to the Shochet to get it killed.²

They found people here reciting Hebrew, with no idea of its meaning--there being very few Jews out of the 20,000 in Jassy who understood the language grammatically. To McChoyne this was "Israel tottering on the brink of infidelity."³

In Austria the deputies encountered their greatest difficulties. Being contrary to Roman Catholic doctrine, their books were confiscated, and every movement was followed with "inquisitorial suspicion".⁴ McChoyne was

1. McChoyne, MS. letter to Mrs. Thain, Oct. 25, 1839.

2. McChoyne, MS. letter to Candlish, Sept. 26, 1839.

3. Ibid.

4. McChoyne and Bonar, Narrative, p. 481.

also attacked bodily by two shepherds as he read in an open field, being left only as he lay helpless on the ground after a bitter struggle.¹

With great relief the deputies breathed the "freer air" of Prussia, and they felt they were returning again to civilization.² In Berlin they met many pastors and scholars, among them the historian Neander and the Old Testament scholar Hengstenberg.³

McCheyne and Bonar sailed from Hamburg on November 3, landing three days later in London. Keith and Black were not able to return until the following Spring, since both had been sick along the way.⁴ Their journey, however, was extremely profitable, as shall be seen.

The return of the deputies brought the climax to the excitement which had surrounded the Mission of Inquiry. Candlish wrote about the "intense interest" which had already been awakened by their letters, and which now was to be put to the test as the reports were given. He also demanded that Bonar and McCheyne preach in St. George's the next Sunday (November 18).⁵ Part of their reception was described by an eyewitness: "I remember still the youthful figure of McCheyne in the pulpit, and the dense crowd filling every passage, and even the pulpit stairs."⁶ Two nights

1. Ibid., p. 461.

2. Ibid., p. 481.

3. Ibid., p. 504.

4. Ibid., p. 520.

5. Candlish, MS. letter to McCheyne, Nov. 11, 1839.

6. David MacLagan, St. George's Edinburgh, p. 62.

later a public rally was held in their honor, and the next day they were the special speakers at the Commission of Assembly meeting in the Tolbooth Church.¹

This pattern of reporting to crowded gatherings all over the country was maintained throughout the following year.² McCheyne's burden, more than mentioning specific incidents and observations, was to arouse "a hearty desire for the salvation of Israel," by delineating the need of the Jews and the benefits which would come to a missionary church.³

The Jewish Mission continued to hold the spotlight at the General Assembly of 1840. By this time the two older deputies had returned, and McCheyne was assisted by Keith in submitting the official report.

Keith, after endorsing the report as it was drawn up by Bonar and McCheyne, described the types of Jews encountered by the Deputation: infidels, strict Talmudists, ceremonialists, and orthodox Scripturalists. He then listed several of the most suitable locations for mission stations, as he and Black had observed on their route through Europe.⁴

Next, McCheyne, making his maiden speech before the Assembly, spoke at great length, giving a comprehensive review of the Deputation's work. Robert Rainy and James Mackenzie some years later, betraying the aura which had already come to surround McCheyne's memory, described his address:

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1. The Scotsman, Nov. 23, 1839; HFMR, Dec. 1839, p. 87.
 2. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, Dec. 9, 1839.
 3. McCheyne, MS. sermon: Romans 10.
 4. Proceedings of the General Assembly, May 22, 1840.

His youthful face beamed with love, and his soft, yearning voice thrilled, as he told the fathers and brethren how his heart burned within him to communicate the vivid feeling of compassion given to himself by seeing the dry bones in the open valley, very many and very dry.¹

He commented upon the best places for Jewish missions: Saphet, Jassy, Bucharest, Pesth, Posen, Smyrna, and Constantinople. As to the mode of operation and the qualifications of the missionaries, he was convinced that they should be sent out in pairs, with at least a knowledge of Hebrew and German. An important part of their work would be to teach Hebrew grammar, the knowledge of which would help to show the folly of many of the Jews' beliefs. Literature of a straightforward gospel presentation, and not argumentative, should be distributed. Further, attention to the medical needs of the people would be advantageous.

The members of the Deputation were aware of the difficulties which would face the Jewish mission. There would be possible persecution. The converts would be in need of support since they would be disowned by their families. Many would be forced to leave their home towns, and be thereby unable to add their witness to that of the missionaries. In spite of this, however, McCheyne concluded with a note of encouragement. This enterprise, he contended, ought to receive all priority in the Church. To those who thought there were already too many schemes in the

1. Robert Fainy and James Mackenzie, Life of William Cunningham, p. 152.

denomination and that it was therefore weakening its attack on any single area of darkness, he pointed out that it was this very tendency which had been the curse of the Reformed churches, which too long had neglected their responsibility to others, keeping the gospel alive only for themselves.

His final words were:

Shall we be ashamed to be like God--to remember the tears shed on Mount Olivet over Jerusalem. . . Shall we be ashamed to join Emanuel in the cry of tenderness . . . Shall we be ashamed to drink deep of the same spirit of which the mighty Paul drank, and to have the same heart--shall we not wish that every Christian in Scotland might love as Paul loved and pray as Paul prayed?¹

McCheyne's report was enthusiastically acclaimed. The press noted that "the reverend gentleman sat down amidst great applause."² The Moderator stated that it was seldom that he had been so convinced as he was now in concurring with "the claim which you have to the warmest thanks of this house."³ The report was approved and it was unanimously resolved that "the cause of Israel should from that time on form one of the great missionary schemes of our Church."⁴

Soon after, McCheyne represented the Church of Scotland at the union of the Synod of Ulster and the Secession Church in Belfast, the day of the merger also being the day of consecration of two new missionaries. Having shown his

1. Proceedings of the General Assembly, May 22, 1840.

2. The Witness, May 23, 1840.

3. Proceedings of the General Assembly, May 22, 1840.

4. McCheyne and Bonar, Narrative, p. 520.

delight at the missionary spirit of the new Presbyterian Church of Ireland, he urged: "One field yet remains, and if my feeble voice could induce you to dare to be cut and out a missionary church, it would not be long unoccupied--God's ancient people the Jews."¹

The following April he was invited back to Belfast, and was in close association with Henry Cooke, one of the leaders of the Irish Presbyterians. In Cooke's church he addressed "a large and influential meeting," which set in motion the committee and resulted in the establishment of a Jewish mission by unanimous consent of the Assembly that year.²

Throughout Scotland McCheyne continued to address large gatherings. On several occasions he spoke in crowded St. Andrews, Edinburgh, in meetings led by Candlish and John Bruce, where he "showed in the most convincing and heart-stirring manner the duty which devolved on Christians to use their utmost endeavours to carry the gospel . . . to the perishing posterity of Abraham."³ Later he was invited to Newcastle where his message was praised as "strikingly presented . . . in his simple and graphic manner . . . we have no doubt that he has awakened a lively interest in the object he has in view."⁴

1. McCheyne, MS. "Missionary Talk, Belfast" July 10, 1840, in Notebook X.

2. The Witness, July 17, 1841; Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, July 9, 1841.

3. The Witness, Nov. 18, 1840, Feb. 9, 1842.

4. Newcastle Advertiser, quoted in The Witness, Aug. 31, 1842.

The desired results did materialize through the efforts of the Deputation and the larger Committee. Money was given in a way not seen before. In Blairgowrie, for example, following an address by McCheyno, sixty pounds were raised for the Jewish mission, whereas the total missionary giving the year previous had been only twelve pounds.¹ Societies were formed to help foster interest in the enterprise. One was the "Edinburgh Ladies' Association in Behalf of Jewish Females," which McCheyno helped to found.²

Of prime importance, however, was the enlistment of personnel to implement the Church's action. In March, 1841, after much deliberation, Daniel Edward was ordained as the first missionary of the Scottish Church to the Jews. He began his work in Jassy (Moldavia), and continued in Europe for fifty-four years. He wrote many letters to McCheyno at the outset, reporting his progress and asking advice.³ He stated to Candlish that the Deputation had laid a good groundwork, since the first people to work with him were "naturally" those who had been in contact with Bonar and McCheyno.⁴

Soon after, John ("Rabbi") Duncan and several associates founded the mission in Pesth, resulting from contacts made

1. McCheyno, "Conversion of the Jews," in Home and Foreign Missionary Record, Feb. 1840, pp. 125, 126.

2. McCheyno, MS. speech for "Female Association for Jews," Oct. 5, 1840. See also Address on Behalf of Jewish Females.

3. Daniel Edward, MS. letters to McCheyno, passim.

4. Edward, Letter to Candlish, in Home and Foreign Missionary Record, Nov. 1841, p. 407.

by Keith and Black during the former's illness there.¹ By the time of the Disruption, there were six ordained missionaries in Europe, in most of the proposed cities--the most successful being in Jassy and Pesth. All of these men "went out" with the Free Church, a pattern which was followed by all the other missionaries of the Scottish Church.²

One of the immediate results of the Deputation, and one which had far-reaching effect, was the publication in 1842 of the Narrative, described by Watt as "one of the major documents in the history of Jewish missions."³ The combined effort of McCheyne and Bonar as they were urged by Candlish,⁴ the Narrative recounted the work of the Deputation in chronological and minute detail, including the team's observations and recommendations.⁵ Some of McCheyne's drawings and poetry relating to the scenes visited were also incorporated.

The Narrative received high praise from all quarters. Chalmers wrote: "I have the greatest value for it."⁶ The

1. Norman Walker, Chapters from the History of the Free Church of Scotland, p. 169.

2. Brown, Annals, p. 502; Fleming, op. cit., p. 65. The Mission's funds remained in the Established Church.

3. Watt, Chalmers, p. 152.

4. In Feb. 1840 Candlish wrote McCheyne: "As to the Report--by all means you and Bonar begin to set about the preparation of it. No time to be lost." At the end of the year Bonar wrote McCheyne that Candlish was still prodding them on (MS. letter, Nov. 27, 1840).

5. Bonar has sometimes been credited as being the sole author of the Narrative, and McCheyne merely the proof-reader. It was always regarded, however, as the joint work of "Messrs. McCheyne and Bonar" (Proceedings of the General Assembly, May 20, 1842), and a large portion is obviously from McCheyne's pen. See also Norrie, op. cit., p. 83.

6. Smellie, op. cit., p. 100.

Presbyterian Review, among other journals, commended the authors for their "concordance-like command of Scripture" which enabled them to relate the customs, places and things which they encountered to the Biblical account, and for their vital concern for the Jews as a people full of significance for the world: "Its authors travelled with the Bible in their hands, and with eternity in their eye . . . the book breathes nothing so much as desire for Israel."¹ The Narrative was recommended to be read at prayer meetings, given as prizes to children, and to be deposited in parish libraries.

The succeeding history of the Jewish Mission was one of expansion and success² and was marked by several striking conversions. Adolph Saphir, a prominent merchant in Hungary was the first of these, and his family was instrumental in the conversion and education of many other Jews. Because of this, Franz Delitzsch, in a letter to the Free Church Assembly, punned that the foundations of the Pesth mission were laid in sapphires.³ More renowned was Alfred Edersheim, who was converted in Vienna in 1849. After completing his education at New College, Edinburgh, Edersheim became outstanding for his Biblical research and writings as a minister of the Church of England.⁴ In the 1830's the

1. "The Church of Scotland's mission to Palestine," in Presbyterian Review and Religious Journal, July, 1842, pp. 175-186.

2. G. D. Henderson, Short History, p. 146.

3. Robert Smith, Early Days of the Mission to the Jews at Pesth, pp. 16, 17.

4. Alfred Edersheim, The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah, "Biographical Note," p. v.

dream of the Deputation was fulfilled as mission stations were established within the borders of Palestine itself.

The over-all results which have come from the Mission Inquiry to the Jews in 1839 have been exceedingly significant. The actual conversions and accomplishments in the mission areas themselves, the added impetus to the missionary movement of the nineteenth century,¹ and the continued work of the Church of Scotland with the Jews, through its Overseas Department,² bear witness to the importance of this work in which McChoyne was a central figure. Most immediate was the relation of the Mission to the religious awakening which took place in several parishes in Scotland, to which our attention shall now be turned.

1. Ernest L. Lloyd, Deputation Secretary of the British Jewish Society, stated in The Life of Faith, Sept. 6, 1956, that the Society was founded through the labors and prayers of McChoyne and the Bonar brothers.

2. G. D. Henderson, The Claims of the Church of Scotland, p. 211.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE EVANGELIST IN REVIVAL (1839-1843)

Roll on, thou river of life!
Visit every dwelling! Save
a multitude of souls. Come
Holy Spirit! Come quickly!

--March 5, 1840

THE EVANGELIST IN REVIVAL

The history of the Church in Scotland since the time of the Reformation has been punctuated by many periods of religious awakening and revival.¹ "Perhaps no country in the world," it was stated in 1840, ". . . has been so signally blessed in this respect as Scotland."²

Because of its comparative isolation during the Middle Ages, Scotland was hindered from partaking in the religious movements which swept through Europe from time to time.³ The Reformation, however, saw a spiritual re-awakening on the part of the people which accompanied the ecclesiastical struggle in which the leading roles were played by royalty and clergy. The fervent preaching of John Knox went hand-in-hand with his fearless disputings with Queen Mary, and helped kindle what may well be considered

1. The term "revival," according to the Oxford English Dictionary, was first used by Cotton Mather in 1702. It did not become popular until much later.

2. Glasgow Revival Tract Society, Narratives of Revivals of Religion, #2, p. 1.

3. T. M. Lindsay, quoted by W. J. Couper, in Scottish Revivals, p. 4.

the first revival of religious interest in Scotland.

Twenty-four years after Knox's death in 1572, the work of the Reformers had been consolidated so that the excitement of the conflict was replaced by a regression and reaction. The Assembly of 1596, therefore, under the leadership of John Davidson of Prestonpans, engaged in a solemn act of humiliation and confession, and recommended that the same be done in the lower judicatories throughout the country.

In the seventeenth century, a procession of incidents served to quicken and confirm the popular mind regarding the Christian faith. The towns of Irvine and Stewarton were stirred by an Awakening in 1625, under the ministries of David Dickson, Robert Blair and Robert Boyd. This was followed in 1630 by a similar movement in Kirk of Shotts, led by Master Robert Bruce and John Livingston, and noted for the conversion of five hundred people in one day. In 1638 the National Covenant, followed by the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643, although essentially ecclesiastical and political, contributed to the spiritual development of the people, and set the pattern for succeeding covenants in which acknowledgement of sin and re-dedication were more prominent. Communion seasons, held once a year (in reaction against Roman Catholicism), were spiritual occasions characterized by deep personal examination and came to figure significantly in the succession of religious awakenings. The ministries of men like Samuel Rutherford, William Guthrie, Andrew Gray,

and Robert Blair also added to these spiritual high-points of the century.

The eighteenth century--the age of Moderatism--bade fair to be the reverse of the preceding years. It witnessed a gradual secession of Evangelical ministers and laymen from the Established Church to the churches of Ebenezer Erskine (1733) and Thomas Gillespie (1761), as well as to the Praying Societies in the southwest. Notwithstanding this, the Evangelicals exerted some influence within the Church of Scotland, and made extensive use of George Whitefield and John Wesley, their counterparts in England. The ministry of Whitefield and the reports of revivals in America led to the awakening in Cambuslang and Kilsyth in 1742, spreading to many other parishes in the next ten years. Through the efforts of William McCulloch and James Robe, the parish ministers, and John Willison of Dundee, hundreds were converted, and thousands were attracted.¹ The century closed with the awakening at Moulin in 1799, to which Charles Simeon of Cambridge and James Haldane largely contributed, and in which the parents of Alexander Duff were converted.

With the dawn of the nineteenth century came the ascendancy of the Evangelicals, both in England and in Scotland. The missionary movement, the work of William Wilberforce, the preaching of Simeon, Robert Hall, and Rowland Hill in England,

1. James Robe, Narrative of the Revival of Religion at Kilsyth, Cambuslang and Other Places in 1742, pp. 30, ff.

and the Haldanes, Thomson, and Chalmers in Scotland, typified a stirring from externalism and conventionalism in the political and social, and particularly, the spiritual realm. People began to take more thought for the "inner life", so that Henderson describes the Evangelical Revival as "a period of gradually intensifying spirituality . . ."¹

In the second decade several awakenings took place in the western islands and the Highlands, in which Macdonald of Ferintosh was prominent.² These movements, while significant in their own sectors, and in the comprehensive religious picture, did not capture national attention. They were outside the densely populated industrial areas, and were confined largely to Gaelic speaking people. For these reasons they are not included among the "remarkable times" of revival in Scotland.³ In 1839, however, national attention was focused upon Kilsyth and Dundee--the centers of a movement which was destined to be far-reaching in time, area, and effect.

It has been seen that McCheyne's ministry from the beginning was essentially evangelistic. Together with this went his emphasis upon the need for awakening within the Church. As was typical of Evangelicals, he regarded the religious state of professing Christians to be deplorable. His condemnation of the vice and immorality of Dundee was vehement.⁴

1. G. D. Henderson, Heritage: A Study of the Disruption, pp. 39, 44.

2. J. Kennedy, The "Apostle of the North", passim.

3. McCheyne, MS. Sermon, Matt. 11:20-24, 1842.

4. Philip, Gowrie, p. 308, described similar judgments of nearby parishes by some of McCheyne's friends.

And seen through the eyes of one who as early as 1835 had resolved with his friends to work and pray for an awakening,¹ such conditions were bound to increase his concern and zeal.

Throughout his ministry McChoyne took every opportunity to educate and prepare his people for spiritual awakening. In week-day services he read and compared narratives of previous movements, particularly those under Edwards in America and Robe in Kilsyth.² His sermons, primarily in 1837-38, often dealt with the question, "Why is God a stranger in the land?" The blame he placed squarely upon ministers, Christian laymen, and the unconverted--all for responding indifferently to the things of God.³ He chided the Church for its "abundance of head knowledge, but ah! where is the lowly heart that loves the Saviour? Abundance of orthodoxy and argument, but ah! where is the simple faith in the Lord Jesus and love to all the saints?"⁴ He urged his people to pray that through the Holy Spirit the Church might be revitalized and the religious nature of Scotland transformed.⁵ Most important, he exuded continual confidence that in his own lifetime "we shall have a time of reviving yet".⁶

I have a sweet persuasion in my own breast that if we go on in faith and prayer, building up God's altars that are desolate, God will heed the cry of His people, and give them teachers according to His own heart, and that we shall yet see days such as

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1. Andrew Bonar, Diary and Letters, pp. 39, 41.
 2. McChoyne, MS. sermon, Is. 61:1, Nov. 25, 1838.
 3. McChoyne, MS. sermon, Jer. 14:8, 9, 1837.
 4. McChoyne, MS. sermon, Ezek. 37:1-14, Dec. 25, 1836.
 5. McChoyne, MS. sermon, Zech. 4, 1837.
 6. McChoyne, MS. sermon, John 14:16, 1837.

have never before shown upon the Church of Scotland.¹

This emphasis in McCheyne's preaching was not without success. His first day in St. Peter's resulted in the conversions of two people, who were followed by many others in the next three years.² Concerning his preaching, one journal commented: "His ministry at Dundee was a constant awakening . . . a demonstration of the Spirit accompanied his presence."³ Yet McCheyne feared that there might only be a comparatively few "first fruits" reaped in his ministry, while the majority of his parish would become hardened as they grew accustomed to his message.⁴ For this reason he looked for "a time of wide-spread awakening" that should engulf the whole country.⁵

McCheyne's concern was reflected by other Evangelicals. His close friends preached a similar message in Glasgow, Kelso, Collace, Blairgowrie, Jedburgh, and Edinburgh. The Presbyterian Review, noting the approaching centenary of the Kilsyth awakening of 1742, queried: "Are the parishes, at that time so richly blest, again to receive the same blessing?"⁶ And the Church missionary journal for September, 1839, spoke of "manifest symptoms of general religious awakening," as it pointed to activities in Cavers in the south, Dundee in the

1. McCheyne, sermon, Matt. 9:35-38, Nov. 12, 1837.

2. Memoir, p. 60.

3. Presbyterian Review, July, 1844, p. 220.

4. McCheyne, sermon, I Sam. 3:19, Feb. 25, 1838.

5. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Jer. 14:8, 9 (#2), 1837.

6. Presbyterian Review, Oct. 1838, p. 288.

north, and Kilsyth in the west.¹

Leading the movement in Kilsyth was William Burns, the parish minister. At his arrival in 1821 Burns was shocked by the town's low moral standards. But he was also impressed by several prayer groups (one made up of elders) which had been in continuous existence since the days of James Robe. Burns had an absorbing interest in the subject of revivals, and began to study the parochial records to discover the progress of the one in 1742. He, like McCheyne, held the hope of an awakening in his parish, and constantly directed the attention of his people to such a possibility. He instituted a series of special lectures and prayer meetings for "revival of religion". Through the years there were some stirrings, helped along in 1832 by concerted prayer and fasting for deliverance from a plague which was ravaging nearby Kirkintilloch. In 1836 an unusual prayer service for revival was held after the March communion. In 1838 Burns commemorated the eighty-fourth anniversary of Robe's death by preaching by his grave (as Robe had done by his wife's grave in connection with the previous awakening). Additional services on Sundays and week-days, missionary societies, and special meetings in the churchyard led by Burns and Alexander Somerville, augmented the consistent ministry of Burns in preparing for revival. The first indication that it was imminent was in

1. HFMR, Sept. 1839, p. 41. The movement in Cavers was led by the owner, a dissenting layman.

July, 1839.¹

One of the precipitating causes of this movement was the enthusiasm which focused on the Mission to the Jews. It had long been held that a concern for missions--especially to the Jews--would bring new life to those who were concerned. Burns had contended that "no church can be in a lively state when nothing is done for the heathen."² Eighteenth century revivals were cited as being preceded and followed by "great movements in the Jewish cause," as though God would not give liberally to "His new family the Gentiles, without at the same time casting some crumbs to the children of the old."³ Reporting to the Assembly of 1840, McChoyne drew attention to the "remarkable fact" that at the very time the Mission was in Palestine, "God visited His people in Scotland, by giving them bread in a way unknown since the days of Cambuslang and Moulin."⁴ There is no doubt that the Mission of Inquiry stirred up interest and enthusiasm within the Church, and helped forward the coming awakening.

The principal factor, humanly speaking, in the awakening of 1839 was William Chalmers Burns (1815-68), son of the minister at Kilsyth, who had been asked to supply St. Peter's pulpit during McChoyne's deputation. At this time Burns had just finished his work at the Divinity Hall in Glasgow, having

1. Islay Burns, Pastor of Kilsyth, pp. 124, ff. William Burns, "Kilsyth, 1839," in Narratives of Revivals.

2. William Burns, op. cit., p. 12.

3. Ministers of the Established Church in Glasgow, A Course of Lectures on the Jews, p. 50.

4. The Witness, May 27, 1840.

only recently been converted and called to the ministry while distinguishing himself as a law student at Aberdeen University. Before his conversion he had not shared his father's concern for religious awakening. In fact, the climax to his own conversion came as he was living outside the family circle.

As a probationer, Burns had committed himself to missionary service in India,¹ but since there were no openings at that time, he was free to consider the proposal to assist at St. Peter's. He wrote McCheyne, expressing his hesitancy, but willingness to do so if he were considered able. The letter gives insight into its writer's attitude:

I am indeed unfit, as I am unworthy, to engage in this arduous, but most noble embassy. I am darkness. I am deadness. I am carnal, sold under sin! But what then? Glory be₂ to Jesus, His grace is sufficient for me . . .²

St. Peter's kirk-session, in acquiescing to the selection of Burns, clearly indicated its doubts that anyone would be able to replace McCheyne, either in the work of the parish, or in their affections.³ Burns' brother described his new situation:

Robert Murray McCheyne . . . was already widely known throughout Scotland as one of the most gifted, holy, and successful ministers of recent times; and it was no light or easy thing for anyone to enter, even for a season, into his labours. An overflowing congregation, of every class and degree in life, drawn together, many of them, from considerable distances in the town and country round, accustomed to the charm of a peculiar ministry which would be apt to render

1. Islay Burns, Memoir of William C. Burns, p. 56.

2. W. C. Burns, MS. letter to McCheyne, March 2, 1839.

3. Kirk-Session of St. Peter's, MS. letter to McCheyne, March 11, 1839.

and above all, throbbing throughout with a high tone of spiritual excitement which it was difficult to meet and to sustain, presented altogether a sphere of labours from which the young evangelist, profoundly conscious of his own insufficiency, might well recoil.¹

From April to July Burns preached in St. Peter's with no spectacular results except that he was personally stirred by "being in a field so richly watered and blessed."² He later admitted that at this time his preaching had been defective in that he shrank back from "alarming" the people and making them face their condition by "unreserved declaration and urgent application."³

In July he was greatly affected at the funeral of his brother-in-law in Paisley. Stopping on his return at Kilsyth for the communion season, he "brought from Dundee that hidden fire which at Paisley was roused into a flame."⁴ He spoke several times during the sacrament services, in which the people's response gave indication that a climax was nearing. On the Tuesday morning following he was scheduled to address an open-air meeting in the market place before leaving for Dundee. This was bound to attract a large crowd, since he was well known in the town, was an able speaker, and was planning shortly to leave for missionary service.

Bad weather propitiously forced the meeting to be held

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1. I. Burns, W. C. Burns, p. 59.
 2. I. Burns, Pastor of Kilsyth, p. 142.
 3. I. Burns, W. C. Burns, pp. 88, 89.
 4. I. Burns, Pastor of Kilsyth, loc. cit.

in the church which overflowed with nearly 1400 people. Burns spoke on Psalm 110:3: "Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power," citing the work of the Holy Spirit in other days, particularly at Kirk of Shotts. Toward the end, as he "appealed closely and fervently to the people," an overpowering burst of emotion shook the whole congregation, and his voice was drowned out by the screams and sobbings of the crowd. Some "swooned away". Following an attempt at the singing of a Psalm, the people were warned against relying on "animal excitement" without the influence of the Spirit. That evening another meeting was held which had similar results.¹

For some time all business in the town was suspended, and daily services for prayer and preaching were held in the churches for the next three months. On Sundays, Burns, assisted by his father and other ministers, preached in the open to eager crowds of three and four thousand. Hundreds came to the churches early for prayer. Prayer meetings sprang up everywhere. There was preaching on street corners and counseling in manses and other Christian homes. Trains from Glasgow and nearby towns brought thousands of the curious and the interested, and not a few helpful ministers. Religion was the only topic of interest and Burns was unable to return to Dundee for several weeks.²

The Glasgow Argus, condemning the "extraordinary scenes"

1. Wm. Burns, in Presbyterian Review, Oct. 1839, p. 367.

2. NSA, VIII, Section II, pp. 138 ff.

of hundreds of people calling out for mercy and fainting from the intensity of their feelings, was forced to admit:

"The excitement is indeed altogether remarkable, and is deeply attracting the attention of the religious public."¹

The Presbyterian Review, however, was quick to commend:

"A whole community setting their faces to seek God! The world thrown aside--earthly interests forgotten, that eternity might be remembered. What a scene!"²

Returning to St. Peter's on August 8, Burns preached two days later at the scheduled prayer service. At the close he spoke shortly about what had detained him, and invited those to remain who wished to hear more about salvation. A hundred "anxious souls" stayed, who at the conclusion of a "solemn address" were "moved by the power of God" to conversion. The next night at a similar meeting, a greater number responded to the invitation to retire to another room, where there was weeping and some groaning and falling and crying for mercy. The scenes at Kilsyth were repeated in Dundee, making allowance for the size and nature of the towns. For four months meetings were held almost every night in St. Peter's, with throngs in attendance--many from outlying towns. Inquirers were often so numerous that they formed large congregations. Prayer meetings were formed everywhere. The whole town was affected. The awakening was begun.³

The news of the movement first reached McCheyne and Bonar

1. Quoted in The Scotsman, Aug. 14, 1839.

2. Presbyterian Review, Oct. 1839, p. 366.

3. Memoir, p. 122, I. Burns, W. C. Burns, pp. 109-112.

in Hamburg, where a newspaper article referred to "a reviving work in Kilsyth and Dundee." The deputies calculated that it was while they were at the foot of Lebanon that the work began. Brimming with excitement and interest they landed in England and hastened home. On the way, McChayne received a letter from Candlish which shows his regard for McChayne, as well as his reaction to Burns' work in the awakening:

We hear much that is cheering and encouraging of what is going on in Dundee. At the same time there are circumstances which lead me to suggest that it will be necessary for you, coming in at this particular stage of the work, to proceed with due caution and deliberation, and even in some particulars with a certain reserve and suspense of judgment, for a time. I say this to you frankly and confidentially . . . being very sure that you will not misunderstand me. I do not say it in the spirit of . . . suspicion, but out of a real desire to see what I regard as a decided work of God, turned to the best account. For this end I think your return home at this juncture . . . may be most providential. . . I cannot conceal from you that there are . . . some points of considerable delicacy, and I feel persuaded that both in regard to the wholesome progress of the work at Dundee, and the general cause of the revival of religion, and the judgment to be formed respecting it, much may depend upon you.¹

Returning to Dundee on the day of the weekly prayer meeting (Nov. 23), after reporting on the Mission in Edinburgh, McChayne preached to his congregation in a completely filled church:

I never saw such an assembly in a church before. Mr. Roxburgh, Mr. Arnott, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Law, and other ministers, came to support me. There was not a spot in the church left unoccupied. Every passage and stair were filled. I was almost overpowered by the sight; but felt great liberty in preaching . . . I never before preached to such an audience--so many weeping--so many waiting, for the words of

1. R. S. Candlish, MS. letter to McChayne, Nov. 8, 1839.

eternal life.¹

He disappointed some by not recounting his adventures in Palestine, but, feeling the urgency of the time, he preached an evangelistic sermon. Afterwards, he was held up from going to his home by the throngs in the street who followed him to his manse, where he was not allowed to enter until he had preached to them again. He discovered many in the parish who had been awakened by Burns, and not a few who had been "savingly impressed" under his own ministry although unknown to him before. From this time on, McChoyne devoted his energies, along with many other ministers, to the work of the awakening.

A significant factor of the movement is that it was the last where the leadership came almost entirely from the clergy. The awakening of 1859 was to a great extent the work of a host of lay evangelists such as Brownlow North and Duncan Matheson.² But except for several isolated Dissenters, such as Douglas of Cavers, the leadership and energy in 1839 originated in the ministry, although this awakening helped to activate lay leadership.³ Among the leaders were Somerville, Macdonald of Ferintosh, Andrew Gray and John Milne of Perth, Andrew and Horatius Bonar, James Hamilton of Abernyte and Robert Macdonald of Blairgowrie, and Roxburgh and David Lewis, whose churches were used to cope with the overflowing crowds in St. Peter's. Also rendering great assistance was Caesar Malan, a leader of Swiss Evangelicals.⁴

1. McChoyne, MS. letter to Parents, Nov. 26, 1839.

2. Orr, op. cit., pp. 233, ff.

3. John T. McNeill, A History of the Cure of Souls, p. 259.

4. I. Burns, W. C. Burns, pp. 115-117; Dargan, op. cit., II, pp. 450, ff.

Generally, these ministers were also pastors responsible for their own parishes, by whom "revivals of religion have been best promoted."¹ Even Burns, although his ministry called for itineration, was in the situation of a pastor when the awakening began. Further, this was a movement of the younger clergy. With the exception of the elder Burns and one or two others who assisted from time to time in the various centers, the leadership consisted of ministers in their early thirties or younger. McChayne was twenty-six; the younger Burns was twenty-four; Horatius Bonar was thirty-one. This led to some prejudice against the whole work on the part of some older ministers.² Most significant, practically all the leading ministers were in what has been called "the McChayne Group."

One of the strong factors of the movement was the cooperation among the denominations. The Voluntary Controversy was at its height, and feeling was running high nationally.³ During the awakening, however, as the pastor of Kilsyth stated: "There are no baneful controversies now."⁴ Relief churches, Methodists, and Independents all joined the Established Church (including some "Moderate" churches)⁵ in the towns affected. Speaking of the Methodists, the elder Burns noted: "With all their errors they have been the means of bringing many to a sense of real religion." Meetings were held

1. Nicholas Murray, Preachers and Preaching, pp. 140 ff.

2. Memoir, p. 130.

3. Vide infra.

4. W. H. Burns, at Glasgow Presbytery, Scotsman, Sept. 11, 1839.

5. W. H. Burns, MS. letter to McChayne, Sept. 21, 1840.

every other night in the Relief Church in Kilsyth.¹ To McCheyne, the younger Burns described how the whole town of Anstruther met together in a tent in the churchyard, the dissenting bodies having voluntarily closed their places of worship: "The Lord's people did indeed seem to be 'all one in Christ'."² McCheyne himself frequently had dissenters preach in his pulpit, and vigorously defended his action when attacked for it. Such unity could only serve to strengthen the message which was declared, and to benefit all participating groups.

The dominant personalities of the awakening were W. C. Burns and McCheyne. Generally, the revival came to fruition wherever Burns preached, and it was in McCheyne's parish that it had the greatest impact for the longest time. Burns' power lay in his intense ardour, vivid realization of eternal truths, vigorous determination, exhaustless energy, and conviction that Pentecost could be repeated in any age. Woody Stuart stated: "No man was less a fool by nature, yet no man in modern times did more entirely become a fool for Christ's sake."³ Burns' sermons, preached extemporaneously after previous study, were delivered in a voice of wide range and power, and were described as being sensible, clear, orthodox and persuasive. He was not judged to have been the polished preacher that McCheyne was, yet it was difficult

1. W. H. Burns, in Presbyterian Review, Oct. 1839, p. 371.

2. W. C. Burns, MS. Letter to McCheyne, July 2, 1840.

3. I. Burns, W. C. Burns, p. 63.

to be unconcerned under the impassioned earnestness of his appeals. Although at the center of much emotional excitement, Burns had the capacity to remain calm and self-possessed, and often relaxed between meetings by reading Greek drama.¹

McCheyne and Burns were drawn to each other, and upon his return home, McCheyne was singularly free from envy toward this one who had reaped what McCheyne had sown in the past three years. During the early negotiations, he wrote: "I hope you may be a thousand times more blessed among them than I was."² After his return he appraised Burns: "Certainly a remarkable preacher. I find him in private much more humble and singlehearted than I would have believed from the reports circulated . . . I have no desire but the salvation of my people by whatever instrument."³ Similarly, Burns, sensing no jealousy on McCheyne's part, prayed: "O, Lord, I would praise thee with all my heart for this, and would entreat thee that . . . the pastor of this people . . . may be honoured a hundredfold more in winning souls to Christ than I have been."⁴ In succeeding years, McCheyne often referred to the number of conversions under Burns' ministry as a particular cause of thankfulness.⁵

That Burns was revered by the people of St. Peter's is

1. Ibid., pp. 54-123; M. F. Barbour (ed.), Memoir of W. C. Burns, p. iv; K. Moody Stuart, op. cit., p. 63; Norrie, op. cit., p. 324.

2. McCheyne, MS. letter to W. C. Burns, March 12, 1839.

3. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, Nov. 26, 1839.

4. I. Burns, W. C. Burns, pp. 128-130.

5. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Is. 61:1, Nov. 27, 1840.

seen in their gift of over 100 volumes of theological books, "a token" of their affection and unqualified approbation of his ministry.¹ He was sought after by several Dundee churches, and for a time he ministered in the newly-formed Dudhope Church.² But his heart was in missions, and after extensive itineration in Britain and America, he was ordained by the Presbyterian Church of England--"its restless evangelistic herald"³--as a missionary to China where he died after a distinguished pioneer career in 1868.

As much as he was respected by Evangelicals, Eurns was castigated by his opponents. His sermons were described in the Scotsman as "a mere compound of enthusiasm, weakness and trifling--not to mention the approaches to blasphemy."⁴ His appearance was caricatured: "A silly-looking lad with a sort of meaningless simper on his face." He was criticized for "trying to get up in this city a sort of religious excitement. . . ." ⁵ The London Times, noting the movement in the north in a scathing report, spoke of the "professional pushings" of the "beardless apostle," concluding: "This nuisance can no longer be endured in the bosom of an established church."⁶ In Newcastle some "Socialists" displayed a poster signed "in the name of the Devil" on which Eurns and a few

1. Dundee Courier, Dec. 31, 1839.

2. Dundee Advertiser, Nov. 20, 1840.

3. Fleming, History, p. 147.

4. Scotsman, Oct. 2, 1839.

5. Quoted in H. Bonar, Milne, pp. 44, 45.

6. Quoted in Dundee Advertiser, Jan. 1, 1841.

"Newcastle saints" were pictured as the only ones in hell.¹ The Scotsman later spoke of "this feeble creature" as one who had "of late years been suffered to go at large in Scotland, practising on the fears of nervous women, and substituting hideous frenzies and contortions for that rational worship which religion inculcates."² That there was some justification for criticism on the part of those who would not naturally have been sympathetic shall be seen below.

The awakening which began in 1839 can be divided into two phases. First there was the spontaneous movement centered in Kilsyth and Dundee, where the local ministries had prepared the way for Burns and were as instrumental in the actual awakening. Here the revival was essentially from within the parishes, Burns being the unexpected means of setting it in motion. This serves to explain the depth and lasting quality of the movement in these places.

The second phase was characterized by the itineration of the principals of the awakening who visited other parishes (where the ministers may or may not have been favorable) as a sort of missionary endeavor. This evangelism was intertwined with other causes of the Church such as Church Extension, non-intrusion, and the Jewish Mission. The work in these areas was facilitated by the spread of the reports of the movement in Kilsyth and Dundee, so that the people were expectant. With the exception of Burns, who always worked

1. W. C. Burns, MS. letter to McCheyne, Sept. 7, 1841.
 2. Scotsman, March 16, 1842.

alone, the evangelists traveled in pairs and groups in Scotland and even to the north of England. By December, 1839, Burns had itinerated extensively, returning to Perth for a long period, where he conducted two services daily, with impressive results. From Perth, he went to Aberdeen, where he remained for some time, although with less success. The years from 1840 to 1844 saw him journeying all over the land, drawing large crowds and awakening many.¹

During this time, in addition to consolidating the work in Dundee, McCheyne, accompanied by the Bonars, Somerville, and others, visited various parishes. He was invited to Belfast in the summer of 1840, where his evangelistic success had become known.² He was asked to join in what he called "a preaching raid into England" in 1842, centering in Newcastle.³ About this time he seriously considered giving up the pastorate for itinerate evangelism, being urged to do so by Burns:

Oh! that you and a few more of our brethren were cast forth by the Lord to the field in which I am favoured to be. The people are waiting in the market place until someone call them in the name of Jesus . . . I often wish I were labouring along with you from place to place . . . why should St. Peter's or any other parish have shower upon shower when many districts have not a drop! The time is short. Come away to the help of the Lord . . .⁴

1. W. C. Burns, MS. letters to McCheyne, passim.

2. Hamilton, MS. letter to McCheyne, Oct. 21, 1840.

3. J. Purves, MS. letter to McCheyne, Aug. 11, 1841.

This letter pointedly omitted Andrew Bonar: "I don't know that Andrew is so fitted to awaken." Also, McCheyne, MS. letter to Father, Mar. 1, 1842.

4. W. C. Burns, MS. letter to McCheyne, Dec. 16, 1842.

Previously, McCheyne had written: "I think God will yet make me a wandering minister. My nature inclines thereto."¹ His frequent absences led to some murmuring by his people, and some question on the part of his ministerial friends as to his itinerating activity. In this work, however, he was successful, and he thrived on the abundance of preaching opportunities.

By means of such itineration, and through the spreading of the news of the awakening, its power began to be felt throughout Scotland. Perth, Blairgowrie, Dumbarney, Breadalbane, Collace, Ancrum, Kelso, Jedburgh, Aberfeldy, Tarbat, Tain, parts of Glasgow, and other parishes were moved to varying extents. Elsewhere, though no remarkable outward manifestations occurred, the influence of the awakening was still felt. In Ruthwell, for example, Duncan read to his people all the information he could find--with some success.²

As is readily seen, the primary means in the awakening was the preaching of the Word and the counseling which resulted. The message, proclaimed with individual variations, was quite similar to McCheyne's, discussed previously. He disapproved of the name "revival meetings" because they were no different from all the services at St. Peter's.³ In general, sermons revolved around Rowland Hill's formula: ruin by the fall, righteousness by Christ, and regeneration by the

1. McCheyne, MS. letter to Eliza McCheyne, March 2, 1841.

2. G. Duncan, Duncan, p. 269.

3. McCheyne, "Evidence on Revivals," March, 1841, Memoir, p. 499.

Spirit.¹ Occasionally remarks were made or pictures described which were pounced upon by opponents to the movement to show the extravagance of the message preached. The Courier, in a typical example, described Burns' pointing to the children on the pulpit stairs and asking "with gloomy unction:" "Oh! have you been made to feel that you stand on the brink of perdition? Are the prints of the Saviour's nails in your sides?" The paper commented: "Poor little things. We are mistaken if some of them that night, before committing their innocent limbs to repose, did not steal a shrewd glance--and probably a fearful one--at their fleshly tabernacles, to see that all was right."² The Scotsman criticized Burns for saying: "I see the devil looking out of your eyeballs," and "Take an armful of Christ and carry Him home with you."³ The Evangelicals, however, generally supported the main tenor of the preaching. The Scottish Guardian saw "no undue tendency to excite."⁴ Moody Stuart described Burns' preaching as sensible and unobjectionable: "There was never any eccentricity or extravagance of doctrine, or even the extreme pressing of one point . . ."⁵ McChayne reported:

I do not know of anything in the ministrations of those who have occupied my pulpit, that may, with propriety, be called peculiar, or that is different from what I conceive ought to characterize the services of all true ministers of Christ. They have

1. John Gillics, Historical Collections Relating to Remarkable Periods of the Success of the Gospel, pp. 558 ff.

2. Dundee Courier, Sept. 13, 1839.

3. Scotsman, Oct. 2, 1839.

4. Quoted in Dundee Courier, Oct. 1, 1839.

5. Quoted in I. Burns, W. C. Burns, p. 99.

preached, so far as I can judge, nothing but the pure Gospel of the grace of God. . . . Some of them have been peculiarly aided in declaring the terrors of the Lord, and others in setting forth the fulness and freeness of Christ as the Saviour of sinners; and the same persons have been, at different times, remarkably assisted in both these ways. So far as I am aware, no unscriptural doctrines have been taught . . .¹

It was felt by Evangelicals that the success was due to the earnest preaching of the Gospel. While some of their remarks would be frowned upon today (as they were then), it must be remembered that they were delivered in the heat of the hour by men whose supreme aim was to awaken and convert those who thronged to hear how this was to be done.

The result of such preaching was that all available time was taken up in private interviews with inquirers. Many remained after the preaching services; still many of these stayed to hear more. Some followed the ministers to their homes late at night and would hardly be persuaded to leave. Islay Burns recorded that his brother had as many as forty interviews in a single day.² McChesney, who regarded this work as "a very delightful but laborious duty,"³ noted twenty conversations in one evening, and during the first months he recorded 400 visits made by inquirers to him. Nearly 700 conversed with several other Dundee ministers in the autumn of 1839.⁴ In Perth 200 people came to the

1. McChesney, "Evidence," Memoir, p. 501.

2. I. Burns, W. C. Burns, pp. 119, 120.

3. McChesney, MS. letter to Family, Dec. 9, 1839.

4. McChesney, "Evidence on Revivals," Memoir, p. 496; also pp. 128 f.

church the day following an evening service to "converse about their souls." Visitation was continued, and McChoyne became more impressed with the need of "preaching to my people in their own lanes and closes." In addition to the presentation of the Gospel message, the counsellors found it necessary to deal with family persecution and other complications caused by conversion.¹

To supplement the spoken word, the leaders of the awakening addressed their people by the means of tracts and pamphlets. Burns followed up his ministry in the various parishes with both printed and private letters.² The "Kelso Tracts" of Horatius Bonar were published at this time to maintain the work of the awakening in his parish. McChoyne published a number of tracts and sermons, for children and adults, in which the same message was presented.³ These writings had the advantage of wide circulation and lasting value.

The effect of this communication of the Gospel was extensive numerically and spiritually. In Kilsyth, several hundreds gave "evidence of a total change of character," and scarcely any family was untouched by the movement.⁴ In twelve months 160 new communicants were added to the Established Church alone, as against the usual reception of

1. Memoir, pp. 133 f.

2. Vide W. C. Burns, Letters to Sinners Seeking Salvation in Aberdeen, Dundee, Perth, Kilsyth, and other Places.

3. Vide McChoyne, "Why is God a Stranger in the Land?" "The Acceptable Year of the Lord," "Evidence on Revivals," "Sudden Conversions." Burns, MS. letter to McChoyne, June 13, 1842, referred to a series of tracts from St. Peter's.

4. Presbyterian Review, Oct. 1839, p. 366.

thirty.¹ Thousands came from outside the town, many of whom were "awakened." In Dundee the crowds were so great that larger churches were used, which in turn helped spread the work beyond the bounds of St. Peter's parish. It has been seen that there was a continuous chain of inquirers, and in 1840, McCheyne referred to almost 150 who had "visibly" been converted in his church by that time. In fact, stating that there was hardly a family who had not some friend or relative who had been "really born again," he used this as an argument for others to do the same:

Dear friends--do you not see some whom you love much really converted and saved? Do you not see they have a peace that passeth understanding--while you are still loaded with guilt?²

To his family he wrote: "There are many, many souls saved . . . Dundee is a sweet place to me from what it used to be . . . I find some whole families saved."³ In an outline report of the towns in which he preached, McCheyne noted: Kelso--"about 70 souls appear to have passed from death to life;" Ancrum--30 men, including one tavern owner, converted; Collace--many old persons stirred; Blairgowrie--"Many notorious characters saved;" Jedburgh--"some of the ruggedest men converted."⁴ In Perth one church received 140 people in the April 1840 communion.

Accompanying the awakening and conversion of so many

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1. The Witness, May 6, 1840.
 2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Ruth 1:16.
 3. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, Dec. 9, 1839.
 4. McCheyne, MS. Notebook X, p. 101.

people was a certain amount of physical excitement, most of which was deemed to have been in order. It was the belief that "when God begins a work in any soul, that soul mourns. His closet becomes a Bochim--a place of weeping."¹ With the Holy Spirit's work there was frequently a sympathetic physical reaction. And the awakened sinner, overcome with the immensity of his sin, could only cry out in tears for mercy and forgiveness. Thus, McChesney stated: "They are wrong who rashly condemn intense anxiety breaking forth even in public."²

It was common at this time for whole churches to be in tears, with some crying out. But this was not considered to be improper by the leaders of the awakening. While they deplored extravagances and outward manifestations, they considered a genuine emotional feeling to be perfectly in order. Thus, the Presbyterian Review, speaking about Kilsyth, stated that "there has been really nothing which one can call extravagance," there being only one real "burst of emotion" on the "memorable Tuesday." In contrast to previous Scottish and American movements, these occasions of physical excitement were considered to be negligible.³ Reports from favorable writers told of the solemnity, seriousness, and dignity of the meetings, with intense feeling but no undue enthusiasm. Even the Courier, which was not favorably disposed, noted

1. McChesney, MS. sermon, Is. 30:19-21, Dec. 1837.

2. McChesney, MS. sermon, Zech. 12:10, April 19, 1840.

3. Presbyterian Review, Oct. 1839, pp. 364, 365.

after a month of the movement in St. Peter's: "We had not the good fortune to witness anything calculated to awaken attention."¹

McCheyne's church was typical of the churches in the awakening. He described the people as being so deeply stirred in certain services that their feelings could not be restrained. Other times they would sit in breathless stillness. Loud sobbings would be heard often, and some crying out--even "the cries of the bitterest agony." He occasionally saw people who were so overcome that they had to be carried out of the church. Concerning this, he said: "I am far from believing that these signs of alarm always issue in conversion." Yet he was convinced that these must not be considered extravagances.²

One person in Dundee and two in Perth died while associated with the revival. These deaths were seized upon by the opposition, but were quite legitimately accounted for by natural causes, and not because of physical prostrations.³ One minister in Perth noted several cases of mental derangement due to the meetings.⁴

Horatius Bonar, writing in 1874, referred to the crying out in the 1839 awakening as being a disturbing factor which

1. Dundee Courier, Sept. 3, 1839.

2. McCheyne, "Evidence," in Memoir, p. 498; also pp. 141 f.

3. In Dundee, the death was the daughter of the Rector of the Dundee Grammar School, who died during an interview with Burns. A physician submitted a letter showing that her death was not due to the awakening. (Dundee Courier, Sept. 17, 24, 1839.)

4. Andrew Gray, quoted in H. Bonar, Milne, p. 50.

was not present in subsequent revivals.¹ J. E. Orr, however, in speaking of the 1859 awakening, lists Scotland as second only to Ulster in physical prostration.² And one journal in 1839 referred to bodily agitations: ". . . these, we are aware, have been at or about all genuine revivals, and therefore we were not surprised at them, far less displeased or stumbled by their occurrence."³ On the solid foundation of sound Scriptural teaching, such genuine manifestations were within the realm of propriety.

The types of people affected by the awakening of 1839 varied according to the locale, although, in general, all classes and ranks were involved. In the small single-class towns results of the awakening were seen everywhere. Even the principal heritor of Kilsyth, a man of high church tendencies, expressed his approbation, writing to the townsfolk that he felt "justified in acknowledging that the hand of God was at work . . ."⁴

In Dundee, McCheyne noted that the awakening affected people in all quarters of the town, belonging to all classes and denominations of people.⁵ Many laborers came to the meetings from great distances night after night.⁶ At the

1. H. Bonar, in Mrs. Robert Peddie (ed.), A Consecutive Narrative of the Remarkable Awakening in Edinburgh under Moody and Sankey, p. 61.

2. Orr, op. cit., p. 172.

3. "Revival of Religion," in Edinburgh Christian Instructor, Oct. 1839, p. 406.

4. Dundee Courier, Oct. 8, 1839; W. J. Couper, op. cit., p. 122.

5. McCheyne, "Evidence on Revivals," Memoir, p. 496.

6. Ministers of the Church of Scotland, Lectures on the Revival of Religion, p. 25.

same time, there were "not a few in the higher ranks of life that seem evidently to have become new creatures" ¹

Many men as well as women were affected. Some evidence of this has been noted above. The Scottish Guardian, referring to a particularly large gathering in Kilsyth, noted two or three men for every woman. ² In direct rebuttal, the Glasgow Chronicle criticized this estimate, and spoke of a "male minority" in a crowd of "hysterical females." ³ The indications are that in general there was at all times a good proportion of males at the meetings.

In addition to the many adults, a large number of young people and children came into the orbit of the awakening. There were no special meetings for them other than the regularly scheduled services. Yet in the public meetings and through the Sabbath School programs, many children were awakened. McCheyne stated that "the number of little children saved is quite remarkable." ⁴ As a direct result of the first part of the awakening in St. Peter's, nine children from ten to sixteen applied for admittance to communion. ⁵ Further, among the many prayer groups in his parish, McCheyne noted that five were conducted and attended solely by "little children." ⁶

1. McCheyne, "Evidence," loc. cit.

2. Quoted in Dundee Courier, Oct. 1, 1839.

3. Ibid. The opposing press delighted in describing in detail the number of young ladies who had been kept up to late hours of the night by the meetings. These reports, together with such others as concerning the lack of ventilation at one meeting, give the appearance of attacking the awakening on the grounds of a predetermined abhorrence of it.

4. McCheyne, MS. Notebook X, p. 102; H. Bonar, Milne, p. 489.

5. McCheyne, diary entry for Dec. 31, 1839, Memoir, p. 133.

6. McCheyne, "Evidence," Memoir, p. 496.

A great measure of the success of the awakening was with young people. The elder Burns quoted that of the throngs who came to the manse for counselling at the outset of the work in Kilsyth, young people were in the majority.¹ From time to time, in his reports, he drew attention to their continued "flocking" to the services and catechetical classes.² That this was the case elsewhere, is seen in Milne's admittance of more than 200 young people to communion in Perth within a short time after the revival began there.³

McCheyne's ministry was singularly effective with young people. John MacPherson referred to the many office-bearers in the churches who had been converted under McCheyne. Further, he mentions that no less than sixteen men entered the ministry as the direct result of his influence upon their lives.⁴ Not a few of these were of the age that they had to give up their employment to enter upon their theological training.⁵

There was some attempt on the part of the opposition to the awakening to discredit it on the grounds of its appeal only to the lower orders of society. The Courier, for example, listed the audience at one meeting in St. Peter's: 1) "People of small brains, little or no judgment, and perhaps too much

1. W. H. Burns, in Presbyterian Review, Oct. 1839, p. 367.

2. W. H. Burns, in The Witness, May 6, 1840.

3. H. Bonar, Milne, p. 58.

4. John MacPherson, Revival and Revival Work, p. 20.

5. Some of these were: Alexander Thain (Annals of the Free Church of Scotland, p. 339), Alexander Gatherer (Annals, p. 116), Thomas Alexander, who became Moderator of the English Presbyterian Synod, and a friend of Carlyle in London (Norrie, op. cit., p. 390; Philip, Gowrie, p. 307).

nervous susceptibility;" 2) people who had a craving for excitement; 3) idlers; 4) the curious and "quidnuncs" who go for the novelty; 5) indiscriminate church-goers, "who go from a sort of mania;" 6) "few, like us, who go to see what is the matter."¹ To be sure, as is the case with all the Church's work, some were impressed who were of low intelligence or who were nervously unstable. The awakening embraced all kinds of people--who had spiritual need. However, the lives of many of its converts demolish the contention that hysterical and idle subjects only were involved. Further, the endorsement of a great segment of the clergy indicates the appeal to the sober and mature.

The effect of the awakening upon the population was primarily evangelistic and spiritual. There were, however, changes in the moral and social aspects of the parishes as well. Many instances were cited of drunkards reforming, and the elder Burns recommended the temperance principle as a point to be stressed in the preaching at this time, being successful in his ministry.² A Dundee banker noted that "a much larger sum than usual" had been deposited in his bank at the height of the awakening, which he attributed to the improvement in the conduct and morals of the working classes.³ By and large, however, temperance and abstinence were not too prominent in the movement, lest they "inadvertantly encourage

1. Dundee Courier, Sept. 17, 1839. Orr, op. cit., p. 248, refers to a similar aspect in the Awakening of 1859.

2. W. H. Burns, quoted in Scotsman, Sept. 11, 1839.

3. Dundee Advertiser, Sept. 27, 1839.

ostentation and spiritual pride."¹ Yet, the awakening, following the recent birth of the temperance movement in Scotland, helped to create a following which gained momentum and significance in the second half of the century.

Although the societies flourished as a result of the awakening, and although there was some impression made upon the political and moral life of the people (as seen in the dissolution of political and dancing clubs into prayer meetings²), there was not an abundance of social concern. The need for evangelization of the workers in the shops and factories was recognized, but the interest was primarily in the individual and his spiritual condition, and not the prevailing working needs and problems.³ Again, it was not until later in the century that this aspect of religious piety was brought to a focus in philanthropic and social endeavor.⁴

The most notable effects were in the many manifestations of Christian characteristics and habits. In addition to the numerous conversions, there was a significant change in the lives of Christians according to the Evangelical pattern of behavior. Outstanding was the spontaneous formation of prayer groups. In Kilsyth at the height of the awakening there were sixty meetings each week, which two years later solidified at thirty.⁵ In Dundee, St. Peter's alone had thirty-nine groups,

1. "Revivals of Religion," in Edinburgh Christian Instructor, II (New Series), Oct. 1839, p. 407.

2. Presbyterian Review, Oct. 1839, p. 369.

3. W. H. Burns, "Kilsyth, 1839," in Narratives of Revivals of Religion, XI, p. 12.

4. Orr, op. cit., p. 209.

5. Presbyterian Review, Oct. 1839, p. 371; NSA, VIII, p. 138 ff.

including five for children.¹ There were two types of meetings: private, being made up of Christians only; and open, where there was also an evangelistic emphasis. With the latter, particularly, McCheyne endeavored to maintain close contact, to insure against "error and pride."²

In 1841, a ten-day series of "prayer union services" was held all over Scotland, which was continued in succeeding years. The churches were crowded twice a day, with McCheyne noting that he had nearly nine hundred people on week-day mornings, and a thousand on Sunday morning at eight o'clock.³ In addition to the local benefits from this union, it served to focus national attention on the revival.

Family worship was revived in many homes, and there was a marked earnestness about public worship of the greater numbers of people each week. Of significance in the public worship was the desire for more celebrations of holy communion. In Kilsyth, only ten weeks after the memorable communion in July, 1839, a second observance was scheduled. At this time there were ninety new communicants and almost 15,000 people present for the day's services in the open.⁴ In Dundee, where McCheyne noted that the one sin which caused the most fear in Scotland was the sin of coming to the Lord's Table unworthily,⁵ his people petitioned the kirk-session to have

1. McCheyne, "Evidence," in Memoir, p. 495.

2. McCheyne, diary entry, Dec. 11, 1839, Memoir, p. 132.

3. H. Bonar, Milne, pp. 35, 36.

4. W. H. Burns, "Kilsyth, 1839," op. cit., p. 9. Of this crowd, only 1300 partook. (Courier, Oct. 1, 1839.)

5. McCheyne, MS. sermon, I Cor. 11:29, 30, 1841.

another communion season.¹ This desire for the sacrament was considered to be the supreme sign of the genuineness of the movement, as John Brown of Edinburgh indicated in his contrast of the excitement of the crowded meetings with the attendance at the instituted ordinances: "A return to the primitive usage with regard to the Lord's Supper would appear to me a clearer symptom of genuine revival than the adoption of what have, in another country, been called 'new measures'."²

Notwithstanding the numerical and spiritual results of the awakening, McCheyne manifested a continual concern that it had not been far-reaching enough. In his sermons he repeatedly stated his fear that although many had been awakened, "few have found the gate."³

Although God has opened his house of mercy--although the door is open--notwithstanding all that God has done in this place--notwithstanding all the souls that have been saved--notwithstanding all the mighty works Jesus has done, multitudes have never come. They repent not. The taverns are as many as ever--these dens of iniquity are not diminished--the numbers of brawlers on the Saturday night and Sabbath is not smaller. If Jesus were here, he would upbraid you.⁴

Where he had previously chided his people for not responding to the preaching of the Word, now he pressed upon them their sinning against the greater opportunity for salvation during the concentration of the revival preaching. He blamed himself

1. McCheyne, MS. letter to Family, Dec. 9, 1839. For this, McCheyne anticipated an overflow into the school rooms (letter to H. Bonar, Dec. 25, 1839, in H. Bonar, Milne, p. 30).

2. John Brown, The Means and Manifestations of a Genuine Revival of Religion, p. 33.

3. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Heb. 2:10, Sept. 1840.

4. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Matt. 11:20-24, 1842.

for this lack, writing to a friend: "Surely there is something wrong about us, or the Lord would make His mighty arm to light down with greater power among us . . ." In consequence, he and several other ministers set aside a time of fasting and humbling before God.¹ This concern must be seen to be more than the mere painting of a black picture to arrest his people. Rather, it consistently pervaded his letters as well as his sermons, indicating its deeply-felt sincerity.

As has been noted already, there were varied reactions to this religious movement. At the beginning, the press was indifferent and coolly favorable. But as the revival gained strength, editorial opinion divided, most papers condemning the work. The Glasgow Chronicle wrote: "We are not prepared to see our hitherto intellectual countrymen reduced to the level of American fanatics."² The Aberdeen Herald denounced "such foolish and mischievous exhibitions as have taken place at Dundee, believing them to be attended by evils that much more than counterbalance all the good effects that can result from the accidental awakening of a few careless sinners."³ The Liverpool Conservative alluded to "the fanatical follies perpetrated at Kilsyth, and defended by the Rev. Mr. Burns and other ministers, who ought to know better and entertain more elevated views of religion."⁴ The Scotsman and the

1. McCheyne, letter to H. Bonar, Feb. 16, 1841, H. Bonar, Milne, p. 34.

2. Quoted in Dundee Courier, Oct. 8, 1839.

3. Quoted in Dundee Courier, Sept. 21, 1839.

4. Quoted in The Witness, Oct. 14, 1840.

Glasgow Argus spoke of extravagances.¹

On the other hand, the Edinburgh Christian Instructor was surprised "that so many of the editors of the public press should have taken up a position of such fell hostility to what we must, on the best of all evidences, hold to be the work of God . . . Gratifying it is to see that there are even so many of them who are either friendly to the cause, or cautiously neutral."² The Presbyterian Review, comparing the work to Cambuslang, and Northampton, concluded: "It is a revival-- and not one of mere excitement. It is manifestly the Holy Spirit's work."³ The Dundee Advertiser found nothing wrong with the work, except some isolated expressions, and commended Burns' sincerity and industry.⁴

Many Church judicatories approved the movement. The Synod of Perth and Stirling recognized "the beginning of a work of revival" and urged its ministers to exercise greater diligence among their people to carry it on.⁵ The Presbytery of Glasgow thankfully and prayerfully received the elder Burns' report of the work in Kilsyth.⁶ Aberdeen Presbytery, after thorough investigation, admitted that a revival had taken place, and commended Burns for his work there.⁷ The United Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh, in a special meeting to consider the awakening,

1. Quoted in Dundee Courier, Oct. 8, 1839.

2. Edinburgh Christian Instructor, Nov. 1839, p. 439.

3. Presbyterian Review, Oct. 1839, p. 363.

4. Dundee Advertiser, Oct. 25, 1839.

5. Ibid., Oct. 18, 1839.

6. Scotsman, Sept. 11, 1839.

7. Minutes of Presbytery of Aberdeen, 1841, 1842.

agreed that there was a need for such a movement, and proposed to carry it on.¹

Many leading ministers gave their endorsement. Principal Dowar, of Aberdeen, who participated in Kilsyth, praised Burns and expressed his belief that the work "was the out-pouring of the Spirit of God."² Candlish wrote of "the Lord's great and gracious doings among us in certain portions of the vineyard."³ Thomas Guthrie, speaking in crowded Greyfriars, stated that "if ever the Lord did marvelous works on earth, he was doing them at Kilsyth at the moment."⁴ And in a joint publication of a number of ministers, it was written that the revival should be hailed as a token for good.⁵ Robert Buchanan, introducing a new edition of Robe's Narrative, showed that "every one of the arguments now in the mouths of scoffers and would-be philosophical men of the world, we find to have been as confidently and uncharitably adduced against the same work a hundred years ago . . . "⁶

By and large, reaction to the awakening followed the predilection of the individual reporting. The Evangelicals generally supported and approved of it. Moderates as a rule opposed it, and were joined by the secular press, particularly that part which had some contention or other with the Established

1. "Extraordinary Meeting of the United Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh, Nov. 19, 1839," in J. Brown, op. cit., p. 6.

2. Quoted in Dundee Courier, Oct. 8, 1839.

3. R. S. Candlish, MS. letter to McCheyne, Nov. 8, 1839.

4. Quoted in Scotsman, Oct. 16, 1839.

5. Ministers of the Church of Scotland, Lectures on Revival, p. xxii.

6. Robert Buchanan, in Robe, op. cit., p. xxxiii.

Church.

The significance of the awakening of 1839 did not cease when the first stirrings of conversion subsided, nor when Burns and the other leaders withdrew from the many scenes. More than a year after the movement began in Dundee, James Hamilton wrote: "There are few instances of recent conviction now, except it be in Mr. McCheyne's church in Dundee. But both in Dundee and Perth, and the parishes around, there is a great increase of vital Christianity since this time twelve-month."¹ H. F. Earbour answered the question "Did it last?" by showing that there were many thirty years later who dated their conversions back to 1839-43.² And Philip stated: "The momentum of those days was felt for long."³

The awakening had significant influence on the Church conflict which culminated in the Disruption. This is typified by McCheyne's letter to his sister in which he juxtaposed the two movements: "I desire nothing more than that the awakening would spread to all the parishes of Scotland . . . It seems probable that a dark cloud is going to break over Scotland and these refreshing times are just to prepare a little flock to bear the wild raging storm when it comes."⁴ McCrie described the leaders of the awakening as also being active in the Disruption struggle.⁵ Fleming showed the

1. Arnot, Hamilton, p. 161.

2. H. F. Earbour, Memoir of W. C. Burns, p. x.

3. Philip, Gowrie, p. 308.

4. McCheyne, MS. letter to Sister, Dec. 31, 1839.

5. G. C. McCrie, The Church of Scotland: Her Divisions and Re-Unions, p. 107.

parallel between the McChoyne group and Rutherford and Guthrie, who presented the spiritual side of the Covenanting testimony just when its political aspects were being re-evaluated. Speaking of the McChoyne group he stated:

The school of saints which brought many in the land to their knees in those days may have been limited in outlook and unduly stern in discipline, but it undoubtedly gave fresh vitality and meaning to the solemn creed on which the people had long been nurtured, and prepared them for sacrifices worthy of their fathers.¹

The biographer of Alexander Whyte stated that the Ten Years' Conflict and the Disruption cannot be understood if they are looked at only as an episode in the ancient effort to relate Church and State: "Along with this external aspect of the movement there went an inner stirring of the spirits of men, which changed the lives of thousands throughout Scotland . . . The personality of McChoyne was one of the most noteworthy on this side of the movement . . ."² Through the sincere preaching of the Evangelicals, they won for themselves the devoted following of the masses. In their concern to evangelize the entire country, including the Moderate parishes, they aroused the people, many of whom accepted their message. And being the party of non-intrusion, the Evangelicals, through their genuine concern for the spiritual state of the people, stumbled into a mass of support from those same people. The spiritual awakening in this way helped to consolidate and to elevate the ecclesiastical struggle, drawing the Church nearer,

1. Fleming, History, pp. 7, 8.

2. Barbour, op. cit., p. 24.

as Hanna stated, "to the heavenly fountain of light and strength."¹

The awakening of 1839 was also the precursor and the preparation for the more extensive awakening of 1859, which swept through Britain.² Although comparatively local and confined generally to the ministrations of peculiarly favored evangelists, its fame was wide-spread and its influence in the life of the Scottish Church was far-reaching. The circulation of such books as the Memoir of McChayne with its notices of the revival in which he lived, undoubtedly helped to prepare the way for the following work. Islay Burns, writing during the latter movement, stated: "Certain it is, that from the hour that those remarkable scenes at Kilsyth and Dundee became generally known throughout the land, the idea of revival as the great necessity of the Church and of the age . . . took strong possession of the minds of Christian men, and has never since lost its hold."³

The measure of success which the awakening of 1839 enjoyed is attributable to several causes. It has been seen that the leaders were young men, born just after the beginning of the Evangelical ascendancy. Benefitting from the example and teaching of such zealous older Evangelicals as Chalmers, these men were the vanguard of generations of intense and devoted ministers. They entered into parishes which had long been under the leadership of Moderate or Evangelical ministers who had long since lost their buoyancy and vitality.

1. Hanna, Chalmers, IV, p. 295.

2. J. MacPherson, op. cit., p. 22.

3. I. Burns, Pastor of Kilsyth, p. 165.

Thus, fired with enthusiasm and zeal, and equipped with the best theological training, they declared an old message with a new vibrancy, such as had not been heard for years. In their message, they painted a dismal picture of sinful hearts, making the people sense their need. Then they authoritatively and convincingly offered a remedy, which was recommended to the receipt of the people.

These ministers fully expected that such a message would, under the Holy Spirit, be successful. Bonar wrote about McCheyne: "He entertained so full a persuasion that a faithful minister has every reason to expect to see souls converted under him, that when this was withheld, he began to fear that some hidden evil was provoking the Lord and grieving the Spirit."¹ A contemporary journal wrote: "His feeblest appeal was more personal and importunate than the most pointed exhortations of vaguer ministers in their most faithful moods."²

In a work of this kind, however, the most important factor must be the work of the Holy Spirit in the lives of the people concerned. Why Burns and McCheyne should be so peculiarly successful and not others of kindred mind and preparation, cannot be adequately answered in any other way. The conviction of sin and transformation of hundreds of lives in so short a time, can only be explained by the divine impulse in human hearts. And, at work through His heralds, the Holy Spirit effected a movement which profoundly influenced the Scottish Church, both spiritually and ecclesiastically.

1. Memoir, p. 156.

2. Presbyterian Review, July, 1844, p. 220.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE EVANGELICAL IN HIS CHURCH (1836-1843)

It cannot be denied that there is a cold and Christless preaching that drives men away from Christ. Now we must take care to keep out such pastors. This is the struggle in which our Church is now engaged.

--Ezekiel 34:16
July, 1840

THE EVANGELICAL IN HIS CHURCH

Although Robert McCheyne is primarily known for his personal religious devotion and his work in evangelism and revival, he was also keenly aware of and interested in the controversial and ecclesiastical affairs of the Church. In fact, he was so vigorous and outspoken concerning his points of view, that one elderly Moderate called him "that wild man from Dundee."¹

An example of his strenuous activity in controversy is the question of Sabbath observance, which centered around the use of railways on Sunday. McCheyne's attitude toward the Sabbath may be regarded as typical of the Evangelical position. He considered the validity of the fourth commandment to be beyond question; it was to be obeyed by Christians and non-Christians alike. Thus, it was common for him to chide himself for being "too little devotional" on that day, and to emphasize God's judgment upon those who profane it:

All sin is double sin on the Sabbath. It is a day of double blessing and double cursing. All drinking, swearing, lying are doubly wicked on the Lord's Day--more provoking to God. Something fearful

1. M. Bonar, Reminiscences, p. 9.

in spending in sin the day God gave us to seek salvation.¹

But more than the duty of all men to keep the Sabbath, it should be the desire of Christians to love it. Before his conversion he had written of "The unreal beauties of the Sabbath day."² Now, however, he prized the day of resurrection, because "It reminds us of His love, and His finished work, and His rest." Therefore Christians ought to "call the Sabbath a delight," and regard it as "a day of heaven upon earth."³ He purposed to set Sunday evenings aside more closely to examine himself in regard to Christian living.⁴ And he impressed upon his people that "we may boldly say that that man does not love the Lord Jesus Christ who does not love the entire Lord's Day."⁵ Moreover, his highest means of describing heaven was to call it "an eternal Sabbath."⁶

Therefore, when in the 1840's the directors of the newly founded railway companies envisioned the potential profits of a seven-day schedule, public sentiment was vigorously tested, to determine to what extent it was in accord with pulpit teaching. The eventual success of the Sabbatarian cause was largely due to the constant arousing of the people and the vehement attacks upon the railway managements by

1. McCheyne, MS. class notes on Catechism, Notebook VII.

2. McCheyne, MS. "For a Scrapbook," 1830, Notebook I, p. 249.

3. McCheyne, "I Love the Lord's Day," in The Witness, Jan. 15, 1842.

4. McCheyne, "Reformation," loc. cit.

5. McCheyne, "I Love the Lord's Day," loc. cit.

6. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Matt. 25:10-13, Feb. 1842.

such men as McCheyne. While not a great ecclesiastical figure (other than through the reputation of the Jewish Mission and the subsequent awakening), McCheyne's words were highly esteemed by Church leaders, and attracted the notice of the opposing faction, which also had to contend with Chalmers, Candlish, Muir, Bruce, Cunningham and Hugh Miller.¹ Through the exertions of these men, societies were formed to organize opposition to the railroads. In Dundee, McCheyne and some others canvassed his parish to get signatures on a "Remonstrance" to one of the lines.² Laymen, such as McCheyne's father and many of his elders, lent their active support.³ The Queen was petitioned by many societies to take a stand against the railways.⁴ Railway abstinence pledges were widely circulated, to boycott Sabbath-breaking companies.⁵ When the Dundee and Arbroath line began a Sunday mail service, The Witness declared: "Thus the evil of railway Sabbath desecration is fairly begun in Scotland. Let the friends of the Sabbath look to it."⁶

In his own Presbytery, McCheyne, as convener of the Sabbath Observance Committee, was commissioned to frame a

1. One of Miller's articles was described by Fleming as indulging "not without cause in gloomy prophecies as to the disintegrating effect of the new method of travel on Scottish religious traditions." (History, p. 5.)

2. Dundee Courier, July 19, 1842, which accused McCheyne of manufacturing signatures.

3. The Witness, Feb. 12, 16, 23, March 12, 1842.

4. Ibid., May 1, 1841.

5. W. C. Burns, MS. letter to McCheyne, Jan. 4, 1842.

6. The Witness, May 12, 1841.

letter to the Dundee and Arbroath company--a letter which was so strongly worded that it required modification by other ministers before being posted.¹ He proposed and had Presbytery adopt an Overture to be submitted to the Assembly which called for purging Sabbath breakers from the Church.² He reached the height of his invective, however, in a letter widely circulated through The Witness to one of the directors of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway, which was about to inaugurate Sunday travel.³

In this letter, McCheyne attacked the director's statements, intentions, impending motion to the company, and Christian profession. Giving vent to his "deep feelings of righteous indignation," McCheyne indicted MacNeill for concealing his true motives for proposing Sunday travel: "Ah, Sir, speak out your mind! Tell what it is that lies at the bottom of your enmity to the entire preservation of the Lord's Day." The climax was reached when McCheyne referred to the proposal itself:

I do not know whether the motion has come entirely from your own mind, or whether several have agreed with you in it; but I here freely state my conviction, formed upon the calm and deliberate study of the motion, and without the slightest desire to use a harsh or improper term, that THE MOTION IS BLASPHEMOUS.

1. Dundee Presbytery, MS. letter to Dundee and Arbroath Railway, Feb. 1841 (concerning Sunday mail delivery).

2. Dundee Advertiser, April 8, 1842.

3. McCheyne, "Letter to Alexander MacNeill, Esq., Advocate, One of the Directors of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway," in The Witness, Dec. 11, 1841.

In the light of such blasphemy and the intention to go ahead with the Sunday schedule, McCheyne then turned upon his antagonist himself and gave vent to his doubts as to MacNeill's Christian faith:

It is this simple fact, Sir, that affords me ground to fear that, with all your talents, with all your reason and plain sense, you are yet an utter stranger to the peculiar tastes, and joys, and hopes of those who love the Lord. You proclaim your own shame. You prove, even to the blind world, that you are not journeying to the Sabbath above, where the Sabbath-breaker cannot come.

McCheyne closed by reminding the director of the law of 1690 which guaranteed strict observance of the Sabbath, and by which the railway company stood convicted by the public.¹

Failing to deter the management from its plan, McCheyne then addressed himself publicly to the Scottish people in an article which The Witness recommended: "A tract so excellent, and on so vital a subject, is deserving of universal circulation."² Concluding with the exhortation "Christian countrymen, awake!" he took a few lines to censure the railways (and all other Sabbath-breaking enterprises) again. He called them robbers of God's holy day, and murderers of the souls of the people. He asked whether it was the vigor of a "revived and chastened Church" which caused the "torrents

1. MacNeill was also the editorial target of many religious journals, e.g., The Witness, Jan. 22, 1842, "The 'bigots' of the country might be disposed to ask, 'MacNeill, betrayest thou the Sabbath with a kiss?'"

2. The Witness, March 30, 1842. This letter, "I Love the Lord's Day," originally published in The Witness, was circulated widely throughout Britain, and together with the letter to MacNeill was translated into Dutch (T. M. Looman, trans. and ed., De Heiliging van den Dag des Heeren).

of blasphemy" which they poured out against God. All this was too much for the rival Scotsman, which, although championing the cause of the Sabbath-keeping Voluntaries, gleefully watched the temporary defeat of the Sabbatarian Evangelicals. In an article entitled "More Fanaticism," this paper quoted McCheyne's letters as typical of the "various circulars and religious tracts with which the shareholders have lately been bored by these zealots."¹

Two days before the shareholders voted on the controversial issue of Sunday passenger travel, McCheyne published his final letter on the subject, calling for a day of national prayer.² All other possible means had been employed. But the most powerful weapon of Christians was united prayer "THAT THE DESIGNS OF THE RAILWAY SABBATH-BREAKERS MAY BE ENTIRELY DEFEATED." Believers were urged to rise two hours earlier to fast and confess personal, family, and national sin; family worship was to center around this theme; ministers were asked to intercede for the conversion of the Sabbath-breakers.

McCheyne viewed this impending calamity in a way not unlike the Covenanters. It was largely due to the sin of the nation and the Church that this was brought upon them. He would have had a large assembly in one place to confess sin and pray for deliverance. Above all, he feared that,

1. Scotsman, April 9, 1842.

2. McCheyne, "To the Children of God of Every Name in Scotland," in The Witness, Feb. 19, 1842.

in God's righteous judgment, the consequences might still be felt. He was certain that a victory would be "a national demonstration of the efficacy of prayer," although he hastened to add that if not successful, the humiliation and prayer would be of great spiritual value: "Only let God's people try it, and a blessing will arise out of it one way or the other."

These efforts were of no immediate avail, however, as the railways proceeded with Sunday service, and many people made use of the facilities. But the fight was not over, and the Church continued to oppose this innovation. Prominent in this aspect was W. C. Burns, who preached at the gates of Haymarket Station, Edinburgh each week to the Sunday travelers. For this he was attacked bitterly, the Scotsman calling him "that unhappy fanatic," who created a disturbance on the Sabbath with his "indecent and profane rant" until "checked by hoarseness and bodily exhaustion."¹

Through the exertions of many throughout the land, this victory for the railways was short-lived. For in 1845 Sunday travel was curtailed, and it was not until 1865, after more contact had been made with England, that the companies dared to renew their agitation.²

1. W. C. Burns, MS. letter to McChesno, March 8, 1842; Scotsman, March 16, 23, 30, 1842. Previously, Burns had circulated a poster in Newcastle: "A REWARD FOR SABBATH BREAKING! People taken safely and swiftly to hell, next Lord's Day, by the Carlisle Railway, for 7s. 6d. . . ." (Courier, Sept. 7, 1841.)

2. Fleming, History, p. 212.

McCheyne's ministry exemplified what has been called the "undenominational temper" of the Evangelical movement.¹ Although he lived in a day of ecclesiastical factions and bitter antagonisms, when the Established Church and the Dissenting bodies were intolerant of each other, and when he himself was among those who foresaw a rending of the Church, he nevertheless lamented that "God's people are sorely divided. The body of Christ is almost rent asunder," and looked for the time when "the Lord's people . . . visited with large measures of the Spirit will flow together--unite into one."² In his personal fasting, he confessed the Church's sin: "want of union."³ He addressed himself in open letters to "The Children of God of every Name in Scotland,"⁴ and urged his people to pray "for all true Christians," regardless of denomination.⁵

Some of McCheyne's interdenominational activities illustrate his position. In December, 1839, he spoke at a meeting of the Dundee Wesleyan Missionary Society,⁶ and later at the Sunday evening worship of the Methodist Chapel itself.⁷ For this he was bitterly attacked by Moderates who cited his singing Wesley's hymns to instrumental accompaniment, and his association with Arminians, thereby, they said, breaking

1. Dale, op. cit., p. 17.

2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Is. 30:25, 26, June, 1840.

3. McCheyne, MS. Notebook X, p. 492.

4. McCheyne, in The Witness, Feb. 19, 1842.

5. McCheyne, MS. sermon, II Thos. 2:16, Aug. 1840.

6. Dundee Advertiser, Dec. 6, 1839.

7. Dundee Courier, Oct. 25, 1842.

his ordination vows.¹

Further, McCheyne often had Dissenting ministers preach in his pulpit (on one occasion for no other purpose than to help pay off the debt of the Dissenting chapel²). He was one of the first ministers to welcome preachers of other denominations into his pulpit, following the 1842 repeal of the Act of 1799 which prohibited them from so doing. For this, he received much criticism from all sides,³ so that he published a long statement showing the scripturality of such action.⁴ In this remarkable letter, he contended that "all who are vitally united to Him should love one another, exhort one another daily, communicate freely of their substance to one another when poor, pray with and for one another, and sit down together at the Lord's table." Since all Christians had been redeemed and cleansed by the same Saviour, and were led by the same Spirit, then any minister of any denomination who was sound in doctrine and blameless in life was worthy of warm fellowship whenever possible. Regardless of views on Prelacy, Establishments, and Voluntarism, all ministers must be regarded as brothers:

True, he may have inconsistencies of mind which we cannot account for--he may have prejudices of sect

1. Ibid., also Nov. 1, 1842.

2. The Witness, Oct. 21, 1840.

3. Dundee Courier, June 28, 1842: "If Dissenters are to preach in Established churches, they can only exhort their hearers to forsake the corrupt Church and to go out--so much for the consistency of Mr. McCheyne and his non-intrusion brethren." This revealed the Courier's lack of awareness regarding the message to be preached by Christian ministers.

4. McCheyne, "Communion with Brethren of Other Denominations," in Northern Warder, July 6, 1842 (Memoir, p. 555).

and education which destroy much of our comfort in meeting him (and can we plead exemption from these?)--he may sometimes have spoken rashly and uncharitably (I also have done the same)--still I cannot but own him as a servant of Christ.

Regardless of who he was--a German Lutheran, an American Congregationalist, a devoted Episcopalian, or even Martin Boos of the Church of Rome!--any "living servant of Christ is dear to my heart, and welcome to address my flock." He would rather have had any of these men than some "frigid Evangelicals" of his own Church. He concluded by urging: "Let us do our part towards our Dissenting brethren according to the Scriptures, however they may treat us. We shall be no losers. Perhaps we may gain those who are brethren indeed to think more as we do." Through such a spirit of love to all with a similar regard for Christ, the Evangelicals, whose ecclesiastical predilection was leading them away from others in the Establishment, secured for themselves the sympathy and assistance of numerous denominations at the time of the Disruption.

McChoyne entered into the affairs and controversies of the Church with enthusiasm, and showed himself to be an active churchman. He regularly attended the sessions of the Presbytery of Dundee, taking part in the debates of current interest and serving on and convening various committees. He declined the Moderatorship, since he felt that the younger men ought not to preside over the fathers and brethren. He successfully pressed, however, for the opening of the sessions of Presbytery with devotional exercises,

and for the Moderator to wear gown and bands, as in the Assembly.¹ He was not so frequent in attendance at the Synod of Angus and Mearns,² although he was a commissioner to the General Assembly several times.

Aside from the part he played in the Church courts, however, McCheyne's especial contribution was in the nature of representation and deputation. The first of these was in connection with Church Extension under Chalmers. In the early 1830's the Evangelicals saw the need for more church accommodation, and they planned to erect additional places of worship in the crowded sections of large cities by means of government endowment, as had been used in the Highlands in 1810. This, however, aroused the successful opposition of the Dissenters (who had been forced to finance their own enterprises), and was another point of contention in what was known as the "Voluntary Controversy" which raged over the use of public funds for that which was no longer the only "face of Kirk" in the land. The difficulty was largely due to the fact that the Evangelicals in the Church of Scotland, save for their views on the Establishment, were closely akin to the Voluntaries, so that any reform of the National Church was considered to be harmful to the Dissenters, endangering their appeal to the masses.³ The turmoil was described by

1. Dundee Advertiser, May 6, 1842.

2. Minutes of the Synod of Angus and Mearns, 1814-1882, in the Church of Scotland Library.

3. G. D. Henderson, Church of Scotland, pp. 125 ff.; Campbell, op. cit., pp. 207 ff.

Cockburn in 1835:

It is a curious scene. Chalmers, as usual, is vehement for his darling endowment. The parties have regular lectures in attack and in defense of the Church; the public meetings are daily; the pamphlets in showers every hour. We have Voluntary and Established newspapers, itinerant orators, church and public breakfasts, petitioning prayer-meetings, and all with the usual proportion of ecclesiastical exaggeration, fierceness, and want of charity. Mutual extermination is the real sentiment.¹

McChoyne firmly believed in and defended the Establishment. With his cousin who was a minister in the Relief Synod he discussed the pertinent aspects of the controversy to such an extent that he felt they had overdone this and not talked enough about their common Saviour.² He considered that as long as there were Christian men in the government, an established church was the most satisfactory means of evangelizing the nation. To this end, he encouraged Christians of good influence to consider seriously their responsibility to enter national politics, using their talents in Parliament "that Christ may be honoured."³

McChoyne contributed "eloquent and appropriate" speeches to the many which were made in defense of the national church,⁴ and one account was written of his attempt to address an openly hostile audience in Fife, finally giving up because of the storm of angry shouting which met him as he began to

1. Cockburn, Journal, I, p. 92.

2. McChoyne, diary entry, July 19, 1836, Memoir, p. 55.

3. McChoyne, MS. Speech on Church Extension.

4. Dundee Advertiser, Jan. 20, 1838, reported McChoyne's speech at a meeting of those "friendly to the Church of Scotland" in Perth.

1 speak. On another occasion, a Voluntary minister, so aroused about Church Extension, accused McCheyne (falsely, in the light of his ecumenical cooperation) of typifying those in the Church who "treat us as if we were what I have no doubt they anxiously wish we may soon become--mere nonentities."2

Chalmers and his supporters continued to seek the needed money to build the new chapels. At first their efforts concentrated upon the government endowment. In this connection, McCheyne, as Secretary of the Dundee Association for Church Extension,3 met for several days with Chalmers and other ministers at the home of J. C. Colquhoun, to discuss Colquhoun's motion in Parliament for the granting of such endowments.4

Even as the endowments were being considered, and after they were defeated, the Church leaders utilized the new mode of voluntary contributions from people at large. McCheyne was one of those who spoke at many places in behalf of this plan, stating: "Every day I live, I feel more and more persuaded that it is the cause of God and of His kingdom in Scotland in our day."5 Following Chalmers' lead, he exhorted for the building of chapels and the calling of "faithful ministers" to newly constructed parishes quoad sacra (such

1. Rainy and Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 89.

2. Mr. Marshall, quoted in Dundee Advertiser, Jan. 4, 1839.

3. T. Brown, Annals, p. 16.

4. McCheyne, MS. letter to Mother, Oct. 3, 1837; J. C. Colquhoun, MS. letter to McCheyne, Oct. 7, 1837.

5. McCheyne, letter to Roxburgh, Memoir, p. 79.

as his own¹), where there would be no more than a workable number of parishioners and a minimum of seat rents.

In Dundee the Association for Church Extension mapped out districts which would form suitable parishes. By 1840, churches were erected at Wallacetown and Dudhope, and in one of McCheyne's notebooks is an estimate of the population for a new parish at Invergowrie.² But he insisted that these still were not sufficient:

In our own town I suppose there are at least 15,000 still living in practical heathenism--without having a pastor to look after them. I bless God that there are two new churches nearly ready to be opened . . . Still, what are these among so many. I do wonder that Christians who have money can live at ease and see these multitudes going down. It is a crying sin.³

The success of the Church Extension scheme is seen in that nearly two hundred churches were erected with the collection of more than 300,000 pounds in seven years,⁴ and McCheyne's activities caused one writer to place his name next to that of Chalmers in respect of labor for this cause.⁵

McCheyne was chosen on several occasions to represent the Church of Scotland beyond its own borders. The year following his return from the Mission of Inquiry he was appointed a member of the seven-man deputation to the widely heralded

1. The Advertiser, Oct. 25, 1839, wrote: "We are free to confess that we have always regarded St. Peter's church with especial favour because it has furnished us with a ready illustration of the power of the Voluntary Principle."

2. McCheyne, MS. Notebook X, p. 5.

3. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Isaiah 22:12-14, May, 1840.

4. G. D. Henderson, Church of Scotland, p. 144.

5. T. Brown, Annals, p. 43.

union of the Synod of Ulster and the Secession Church, in Belfast, which formed the Presbyterian Church of Ireland.¹

His selection to be on these deputations while still in his middle twenties serves to indicate something of the esteem in which he was held by at least some of the leaders of the Church, and although it was not his lot to take part in debate on the floor of the General Assembly, it is evident that McCheyne was well on the way to a position of leadership in his Church.

All of McCheyne's ministry lay within the controversial and yet prosperous period of the history of the Church of Scotland known as the "Ten Years' Conflict" which culminated in the Disruption of 1843. To a large degree this period was precipitated by the democratic spirit which led to the Reform Bill of 1832, the impact of which was described by Cockburn: "It is impossible to exaggerate the ecstasy of Scotland, where to be sure it is like liberty given to slaves."² Moreover, there was the growth of the Secession bodies and the increase of chapels of ease, where the members had a direct voice in the selection of their ministers.

Against this background the relatively small question of the modification of the practice of patronage re-emerged in the General Assembly, and blossomed into the shattering

1. The Witness, June 24, July 15, 18, 1840. The others were: The Very Rev. Principal Dowar, Dr. Patrick McFarlan, Rev. McIlray of Stirling, Rev. Alexander of Ballochmyle, Maitland Makgill Crichton of Bankeillor, and Alexander Murray Dunlop.

2. Cockburn, Journal, I, p. 5.

problem of the relation of Church and State. In 1834 the Assembly passed the Veto Act which stated that patrons could not "intrude" unacceptable ministers upon unwilling congregations. In the same year the Chapel Act was passed, giving greater voice to the Evangelical party by granting chapels of ease the same status as all parish churches in matters quoad sacra. Ministers of chapels were thereby allowed to be members of church judicatories, and most chapel ministers were Evangelicals.

In opposition to these acts, the Court of Session, toward the end of the 1830's, held that the patron alone had the right to nominate a minister to a vacant charge, and that it was illegal for the Church to create new parishes. Thus, when it was ruled that the Church must install all ministerial presentees, and that all business previously transacted by judicatories containing chapel ministers should be rescinded, the issue was no longer merely that of patronage or chapels of ease, but the right of the Church to control its own procedure. The Church contended that the Court had exceeded its authority, taking to itself that which belonged only to Christ, the Head of the Church.

In a series of lawsuits brought by the patrons and presentees of Auchterarder, Lethendy, and Marnoch, the tribunals were shown to be adverse to the Church's claim, and they were backed up by the House of Lords. Bills submitted to Parliament to change the law and thereby bring peace to Scotland were rejected or considered to be inadequate, due to the lack

of appreciation of many of the English members concerning Scottish polity, and their own interest in a similar movement to remove State control from the Church of England.

Neither Melbourne nor Peel, when they were finally appealed to, were sympathetic, and their cabinets received the Scottish Church's grievances and claims with apathy.

Finally, in 1842, a strong Evangelical majority in the General Assembly passed the "Claim of Right" which insisted upon the headship of Christ and the Church's exclusive jurisdiction in its own province. This was followed in November by the Convocation of 465 Evangelical ministers, meeting behind closed doors in Edinburgh to discuss the Church's difficulties and their remedy. Through those meetings, the non-intrusionists were strengthened and solidified, and the great majority pledged themselves to withdraw should the Claim of Right be rejected by the government.¹

As significant as the numbers attending the Convocation, however, was the personnel, as Cockburn pointed out: "It may be doubted if there be a dozen of the ministers in Scotland who are, or deserve to be, popular with the lower or higher orders, who are not among these . . . This band contains the whole chivalry of the Church . . ." ² The opposing reaction, as typified by the Advertiser, which stated: "It turned out a very pitiful concern," ³ was somewhat premature

1. Buchanan, op. cit., II, pp. 544 ff.

2. Cockburn, Memorials, p. 337.

3. Dundee Advertiser, Dec. 2, 1842.

in the light of the subsequent Disruption.

While it was for older leaders such as Chalmers, Candlish ("the most determined and aggressive of the non-intrusion protagonists"¹), Welsh and Cunningham to fashion the strategy of the Evangelicals, nevertheless younger men such as McChoyne took active parts in the events leading up to the Disruption.² Since his student days, when he had witnessed the Evangelical ascendancy, McCheyne's outlook, both in theology and polity, had been thoroughly Evangelical, as is seen in his words to a friend living outside Scotland: "You don't know what Moderatism is. It is a plant that our heavenly Father never planted, and I trust it is now being rooted up."³

To McCheyne, as to many non-intrusionists, the problems of the Ten Years' Conflict were not merely ecclesiastical. While the difference between the theology of the two parties was minimal, the Evangelicals saw the question of the Church's independence to be related to the doctrine of the headship of Christ. McChoyne (who cited the "unholy lives, desolate parishes, and Christless sermons" of Moderates⁴) went so far as to assert that the headship of Christ was equally important as the divinity of Christ.⁵ The specific issue of

1. G. D. Henderson, Heritage, p. 88.

2. Blaikie, Preachers, p. 298, slightly underestimated McCheyne's activities in this struggle: "Saintly men like . . . McCheyne, though they may have fought less, have generally been as decided as any for the public cause with which they believed the prosperity of the Gospel to be mixed up," for McCheyne was frequently in the thick of the fight.

3. McCheyne, letter quoted in Memoir, p. 79.

4. McCheyne, MS. speech on State of the Church, Oct. 13, 1841.

5. Dundee Courier, April 13, 1841.

patronage was simply contrary to the Word of God, and the whole controversy over Church polity was the result, he felt, of the unholiness, impurity and neglect of the Christian people, and could not be remedied until these basic evils were corrected: "God is calling you to humble yourselves--before the threatened stroke--and then it may be he will repent of the evil and do it not."¹ Thus, as Campbell observed: ". . . when the Non-Intrusionists raised the cry that the 'crown-rights of the Redeemer' were in danger, they addressed the deeper emotions of that large section of the Church of which McChayne was a representative."²

McChayne spoke out boldly against patronage and for the Church's independence, and in so doing he gained the respect of Evangelical leaders and the reproach of the Moderate press which described him as "famous for his non-intrusion violence."³ He was a correspondent with non-intrusion leaders, and often shared the speakers' platform with them. Among his associates, in addition to the clergy, were the enthusiastic laymen Murray Dunlop, Member of Parliament and framer of the Claim of Right, and Makgill Crichton.⁴ As a leader of Dundee Evangelicals, McChayne was constantly requested to stir up support and interest for various endeavors, as seen in his being asked by Sir Andrew Agnew to write about and publish in the press the

1. McChayne, MS. sermon, Is. 22:12-14, May, 1840.

2. Campbell, op. cit., p. 243.

3. Dundee Courier, Dec. 21, 1841.

4. For example, see Belfast Deputation of 1840, and MS. correspondence, passim.

rallying slogan: "The Duke of Argyll's Bill and the religious peace of Scotland."¹

McCheyne was called upon to represent and explain the Church's position both in and out of Scotland. Soon after his return from Palestine he was asked to preach in the parishes of the seven ministers in the Presbytery of Strathbogie, who were suspended for proceeding to the ordination of a presentee over the veto of the congregation of Marnoch. In a letter from Candlish, showing his consideration concerning who should go, McCheyne read:

Moody was to write you yesterday about going to Strathbogie. I now authoritatively!! invite you to go. Seriously, I am more anxious than I have time to tell you. It is a singular opening and irresistible call in providence. Do consent to go and preach the Gospel to thirsty souls. The sooner the better. As to the revival of good work there, we may be hindered in providence from employing such marked men as Burns. But the more urgent is the call on you.² You will understand me. Say when you can go north.²

The seven ministers, however, had secured an interdict from the Court of Session prohibiting any other ministers from preaching in their parishes, under penalty of imprisonment. But, with other Evangelicals, "defying martyrdom,"³ McCheyne went north, where he preached and administered the Sacrament in Huntly, becoming acquainted with the Evangelical Duchess of Gordon.⁴ Here he received the usual interdict,

1. Sir Andrew Agnew, MS. letter to McCheyne, June 21, 1841.

2. Candlish, MS. letter to McCheyne, Feb. 5, 1840.

3. Cockburn, Journal, I, p. 235.

4. Alexander Moody Stuart, Life and Letters of the Last Duchess of Gordon, passim. She was quoted as saying about the suspended ministers: "Nobody need tell me about the

which, like all others, was ignored,¹ as he said, ". . . no power shall keep me from preaching . . . in the dead parishes of Scotland."² He ministered to large crowds of "anxious" people, many of whom remained after the meetings to pray and receive further instruction.³

During the same year, McChoyne and the other members of the deputation to Belfast held meetings in many cities and towns in Ireland, delivering "animated and powerful" addresses to crowds of upwards to three thousand people.⁴

McChoyne attended every session of the Convocation of 1842, and one of his notebooks is a record of the events and debates which took place.⁵ His direct contributions to this assembly lay in his preparation of a proposal for united prayer which was widely circulated throughout the country, and his praying at one of the diets after a particularly tense and crucial debate.⁶ That this was one of the high points of the Convocation was stated by Chalmers' biographer, who drew attention to "the spirit of prayer, which, breathing from the lips of Mr. McChoyne or Dr. MacDonald [of Ferintosh], conveyed a profounder sense of the divine presence than we ever felt before or since in the most hallowed of our

Moderates. I know them well; I should never think of consulting them on any religious subject, or asking them to my house for spiritual profit (p. 264).

1. The Witness, Aug. 15, 1840.

2. Quoted in A. Moody Stuart, Gordon, p. 268.

3. Memoir, p. 144.

4. The Witness, July 18, 22, 1840.

5. McChoyne, MS. Notebook XVI.

6. Buchanan, op. cit., II, p. 542.

Christian assemblies."¹

McCheyne was commissioned by the Convocation to preach in 1843 in some of the Moderate presbyteries of Aberdeen. During this period of three weeks he preached twenty-seven times in twenty-four places, often in the face of violent opposition.² Concerning the trip he wrote: "The door is opened, though not effectually."³

The Aberdeen newspapers followed McCheyne's movements closely, and described his meetings in minute and irrelevant detail. One paper, devoting an entire column to a particular meeting, took a long paragraph to describe McCheyne's neat appearance and meticulous dress--"as if he had been clothed by a special committee under the inspection of the Church." His voice and manner of speaking were satirized as was his supposed omission of paying the hosteler. The fact that the parishioners in that meeting had signed a resolution deploring McCheyne's "intruding" into the parish and stating their adherence to their minister, was almost anti-climactic.⁴

In February, 1843, McCheyne was asked to carry the

1. Hanna, op. cit., IV, p. 308.

2. McCheyne, MS. Notebook XIII; Memoir, p. 267. Brown, Annals, p. 73, related one instance where McCheyne's preaching instantly melted a mob who had resolved to stone him as soon as he began.

3. McCheyne, MS. letter to John Bonar, March 6, 1843. One notable incident during this trip was McCheyne's giving a tract to the seven year old Alexander Whyte in Kirriemuir (Barbour, Whyte, p. 22). It is interesting to note the parallels in the lives of these two--both having been closely associated with Roxburgh and Candlish--McCheyne at the beginning of their ministries, and Whyte at the end.

4. Aberdeen Constitutional, quoted in Dundee Courier, March 7, 1843.

Evangelical position to London. Once again, this was at the urgent request of Candlish, who described the gathering and its importance:

You will receive an invitation from Dr. Bunting asking you to come up to the Wesleyan Missionary Anniversary in the end of April, to preach and take part in their meetings. This is the service Dr. Makellar and I rendered two years ago . . . This year Guthrie had agreed to come, but unhappily our Edinburgh communion falls on the very week . . . Both Dunlop and I thought instantly of you, and recommended them to apply to you. I could give various reasons why you should at once comply. It is particularly important for us, that this visible badge of good feeling should be kept up this year; and they are very much anxious that it should . . . Your coming would also do good, as giving them a right notion of our principles and preaching . . . But I have not time to multiply arguments; suffice it that this is a service by which you may most essentially benefit our Church and cause; and that you ought, by all means, to agree to render it. Put off any other engagement, in which your place can be supplied--and at once consent to come.¹

Although McCheyne accepted this invitation, he died before it took place, and his father noted on this letter: "Wrote Dr. C. that Robert could not fulfil his engagement."

In the Presbytery of Dundee, McCheyne came to be regarded as a leader, along with Roxburgh, of the sixteen Evangelicals.² Here he bitterly opposed Moderatism, patronage, and State interference in Church affairs.³ To those who would ask why he remained within the Establishment, he pointed out that every denomination had corruptions, and other religious bodies would be no better. Thus he felt that he should hold

1. Candlish, MS. letter to McCheyne, Feb. 28, 1843.

2. Dundee Courier, Oct. 29, 1841, which described certain "lay-zealots" as "cats' paws" to Roxburgh and McCheyne.

3. McCheyne, MS. speech in Presbytery, April 6, 1842.

office in the Church of Scotland, under protest, with the purpose of remedying its existing evils.¹ Through his outspokenness, he incurred the enmity of several, both in the Synod and in Presbytery.² An example of his demeanor in this regard is seen in his persistent objection to the appointment of a certain Moderate as a commissioner to the Assembly. He argued that in "better days" the sentiments of the minister in question, "instead of entitling a man to a seat in the General Assembly, might entitle him to a place at the bar of the Assembly."³ In regard to the seven ministers from Strathbogie, he called for "love to our erring brethren," and at the same time strong disciplinary action in order to keep the Church pure.⁴

Led by the non-intrusion ministers in the Presbytery, Dundee was the scene of many meetings and efforts to combat the rulings of the civil courts. McCheyne was a member of a committee appointed to form a "Church Defense Association,"⁵ and petitions were circulated and signed by a majority of the

1. Dundee Advertiser, April 8, 1842.

2. The Witness, April 23, 30, 1842 referred to the minister of St. Vigens who accused McCheyne and another minister of bearing malice and ill-will toward him. McCheyne was instantly cleared, as was the other minister eventually. See also Dundee Advertiser, April 5, 1839 for another case which likewise was dismissed by Dundee Presbytery immediately.

3. Dundee Courier, April 13, 1841. Because of this, the paper attacked McCheyne for "intolerant and truly popish opinions," continuing: "This gentleman is quite supertorrestrial and looks down evidently with sublime piety, not only on the minority of Presbytery, but on very many of the majority. He cannot express himself like any other body. Common language is too profane a vehicle for his thoughts."

4. McCheyne, MS. speech in Dundee Presbytery, April, 1842.

5. The Witness, Feb. 12, 1842.

adult population to induce Parliament to act favorably toward the Church of Scotland.¹ At the Disruption, all but several ministers of the Presbytery seceded to form the Free Church, which expanded rapidly until soon there were eighteen churches.

In his own church, McCheyne found many opportunities to refer to the involvements of the situation, always relating them to "the headship of Christ:" "The simple lesson here is that Christ alone hath the right to appoint ministers in his own church . . . Learn that our church is right in her present position."² Identifying the ecclesiastical with the spiritual, he called for assistance in a way redolent of the Covenanters:

Christ's cause is bleeding and torn in Scotland. Men in high places have dashed the crown from his head and trampled it in the dust. Are your hearts bleeding? Are ye willing to suffer with Christ's cause? Many have been added to the cause in Scotland. Have you rejoiced like the angels of God--or like devils have you gnashed your teeth? Efforts are making to extend the knowledge of the Saviour. Are you willing to spend and be spent in this blessed service?³

As a result of McCheyne's preaching and teaching on this subject, his people rallied behind him, and his church was one of the first in Scotland to begin a series of monthly prayer meetings, in accord with a General Assembly recommendation in 1840.⁴ "Church Defense" meetings were held throughout

1. Ibid., Feb. 22, March 7, 1840. All but three ministers of the Church of Scotland (and even two Dissenting ministers) signed, and there was "scarcely an exception" among elders.

2. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Zech. 9:9, 1842.

3. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Rev. 3:14-22, 1841.

4. The Witness, Nov. 4, 1840.

the parish.¹ Many of the elders were prominent in the non-intrusion cause in the Dundee area, and often acted as chairmen of the numerous meetings which met for this purpose.²

After the Convocation, where nearly "five hundred of our best ministers crossed the Rubicon," McCheyne returned to his church to report: "The time for argument is now past; the time for action is now come . . . our duty is to go forward--expecting the worst." He proceeded to outline the scheme for raising money for the erection of five hundred new churches, and the support of the ministers who in a few months would be "leaving manse and churches in one day."³

This premonition of a secession of some sort was not new with the Convocation. As early as May, 1840, McCheyne envisioned a time when, because of the government's action, "You may lose your pastors in a single day."⁴ In 1841, Chalmers wrote: "I shall ever regret the necessity of a separation from the State. But if driven to it by principle, it is a sacrifice which must and ought to be made."⁵ Candlish's biographer stated that he also spoke of the Disruption two years before it took place.⁶

After noting the deplorable and disadvantageous aspects of the impending schism, McCheyne declared: "But I hail it!" and urged his people to examine which was "the Lord's side"

1. Howat, op. cit., p. 59.

2. Advertiser, July 22, 1842; The Witness, Feb. 5, 1840, etc.

3. McCheyne, MS. speech on "Free Presbyterian Church," 1842.

4. McCheyne, MS. sermon, Is. 22:12-14, May, 1840.

5. Hanna, op. cit., IV, p. 241.

6. Wilson, Candlish, p. 157.

and to cleave to it regardless of the results.¹ Following his leading, a meeting was held which "originated entirely among the people." Here they testified to their adherence to the principles of the Convocation and unanimously agreed to its declarations and resolutions.² At the same time the kirk-session subscribed to a "Declaration" indicating their support of the non-intrusion principle and of McChoyne as their minister, and asserted their willingness, if necessary, "to leave the Church along with him."³

McChoyne was appointed to be a commissioner to the General Assembly of 1843,⁴ but in March, while visiting among his people, he contracted typhus fever, which was raging through Dundee, particularly the Perth Road section, at the foot of Hawkhill, in St. Peter's parish.⁵ The illness lasted almost two weeks, during which time the lane to his manse was crowded with parishioners, and the church was full every night with people praying.⁶ After a brief improvement, he died on March 25, which shocked many in the Church and in Dundee. The letters of his friends were filled with references to the passing of this one who had been at the center of their group. Candlish wrote: "I dare not trust myself to speak of what I feel. How I admired and loved our departed

1. McChoyne, MS. sermon, Zech. 9:9, 1842.

2. The Witness, Jan. 11, 1843.

3. St. Peter's Kirk-Session: MS. "Declaration," Dec. 1842.

4. McChoyne: MS. letter to John Bonar, March 6, 1843.

5. Dundee Courier, Jan. 17, 1843; Parochial Register: St. Peter's Churchyard, 1837-1856.

6. The Witness, March 29, 1843.

friend you partly know."¹ Somerville prayed "that the death of Robert may be sanctified to me . . . His death I do not think could ever have made a deeper impression; indeed, as the Lord honoured him much in preaching and in his walk while alive, so he seems to have put peculiar honour upon him, in making his death so remarkable . . ."² James Hamilton, profoundly impressed by McCheyne's death, noted: "Robert McCheyne was not a year older than myself, but what a work he had finished before he was called away."³ William Cunningham, hearing of McCheyne's death between Sunday services, exclaimed: "Help, Lord, for the godly man ceaseth," and prayed for God's blessing upon those left behind.⁴ Andrew Bonar was overcome and dreaded visiting St. Peter's. Throughout the remainder of his life he referred often to this friend of his youth.⁵ The Courier conceded: "Although Mr. McCheyne in his views of Church government, differed from ourselves, we have always thought that he was guided by principle and sincerity. . ."⁶ The Witness, in three different editions, devoted many columns to his life and death, stating: "His precious life was short, but he was an aged saint in Christian experience; . . . into those few years there was compressed a life-time of ministerial

1. Candlish, MS. letter to P. H. Thoms, March 28, 1843.

2. Smith, Modern Apostle, p. 69.

3. Arnot, Hamilton, pp. 212-215. Hamilton, having written an account of McCheyne's ministry for The Witness, and finding the article circulated as a tract, wrote the newspaper, deploring the fact that his and McCheyne's names had been juxtaposed so closely, because McCheyne's memory was so sacred. (April 15, 1843)

4. Joanna Shaw, MS. letter to L. M. McCheyne, March 27, 1843.

5. M. Bonar, op. cit., p. 12; A. A. Bonar, Diary, pp. 101-105.

6. Dundee Courier, March 28, 1843.

usefulness."¹

McCheyne's funeral was attended by a crowd estimated between six and seven thousand, the business of the parish having come to a virtual standstill. Most of the ministers of the area, including the Dissenters, and many elders, were in the funeral procession.² The kirk-session proposed immediately to have him interred and to erect a monument to him in the church yard,³ the inscription reading in part:

Walking closely with God, an example
of the Believers,
In Word, in Conversation, in charity,
In spirit, in faith, in purity,
He ceased not, day and night, to labour
and watch for souls;
And was honoured by his Lord
To draw many wanderers out of darkness
Into the path of life.

Although he was not one of the participants in the Disruption which took place in the Assembly of 1843, McCheyne's influence pervaded his parish, and all but a few of his congregation withdrew with the Free Church. The church building was one of the few retained by seceding congregations, by virtue of a small debt on the property, which the congregation bought from the bond holder at the upset price of 1200 pounds.⁴ Islay Burns, the brother of W. C. Burns, was called to succeed McCheyne, his ordination being the first in the Free Church.⁵

1. The Witness, March 29, April 5, 8, 1843.

2. Norrie, op. cit., p. 83.

3. Minutes of Meeting of Elders and Managers of St. Peter's Church and Congregation, March 27, 1843.

4. History of St. Peter's Free Church, p. 13.

5. James McCosh, The Wheat and the Chaff Gathered into Bundles, p. 78. Blakie, Memoir of Islay Burns, pp. xx ff.,

Was McChoyne a leader of the Disruption? Not in the sense that Chalmers, Cunningham, and Candlish were regarded to be leaders. But when the Disruption is realized to have been a movement of the people, then the influence of McChoyne, as of similar younger ministers, is seen to have been significant. Although he had not as yet developed into a leader of the Church in the General Assembly, he was more directly in contact with the religious heart of the people. His parochial and evangelistic ministry, being combined with his direct labors for the cause of the Church's spiritual independence, was second to none, as John Macleod has¹ stated, in leaving his mark on the Evangelical churches.

indicated that Burns had difficulty in succeeding McChoyne, the attendance falling off.

1. Macleod, op. cit., p. 277.

CHAPTER NINE

ROBERT MURRAY McCHEYNE

May we all be made fit in short
time for endless eternity.

--June 1, 1838

Are we not all immortal
till our work is done?

--Oct. 25, 1839

ROBERT MURRAY McCHEYNE

The death of Robert McCheyne, occurring before his thirtieth birthday, cut short a life which exemplified the Evangelical movement in the Church of Scotland. In many respects he was not only typical, but was rather a leader whom others followed. Beginning with his ordination, which antedated that of most of his classmates, and his call to St. Peter's, in which he was chosen over a lot of able candidates, his ministry was characterized by a prominence and success which were unique. He had attracted the notice and won the confidence of many Church leaders, and had been commissioned to assist in several delicate and important cases within the Church. He had been the central figure of a group which came to play a prominent role in the Free Church, providing a large number of moderators of its General Assembly.

McCheyne's personal spiritual equilibrium and depth had been a constant cause for marvelling among his acquaintances, and have inspired millions to this day. Next to his dependence upon the Spirit of God, much of his success was due to the consistency and conspicuousness of his Christian character as a pastor among his people who knew that his week-days were merely the sequel to his Sabbaths. As one contemporary remarked:

"His preaching was impressive, for his life applied it. His every-day demeanour exemplified and adorned his doctrine."¹

His preaching was constantly attended by large crowds of people, many of whom were awakened and converted. His published works, for a man so young, were widely read and highly regarded. His ministry in the homes of his people, and in the pulpit, and through the printed word was effective in preparing the way for the Awakening of 1839, in which he and his church were at the center. His work as a deputy of the Church was also significant, as was his participation in the events leading up to the Disruption and the founding of the Free Church.

The key characteristics of McCheyne's life were: devotion to his Master and confidence in his calling, Evangelicalism, singleness of purpose, and adherence to accepted procedures and orthodox beliefs.

McCheyne's life and ministry were fired by the realization that he had been saved from sin and its punishment by the work of Christ. This evoked a response of love and devotion which was considered to have been singular in its depth. Accompanying this was the conviction that he had been placed in the ministry by this same God, to declare this message of God's love in Christ to all men. There was no uncertainty as to the validity of his faith in Jesus Christ or his calling to be a herald of God.

1. Presbyterian Review, July, 1844, pp. 221 ff.

He was a thoroughgoing Evangelical, to whom a personal relationship to God in Christ was of supreme importance. Although brought up in an environment of cold morality, and although his family at first had "Moderate" leanings, at his conversion he underwent an experience which caused him to seek more than decent morality. Indeed, his former morality came to be seen as pride and superficiality. Following his conversion, his human inspiration was in the lives of Evangelical ministers who were moved by a love for Christ and a compassion for others. His theology was that from which the eighteenth century Moderates had departed, as found in the Westminster standards. Moreover, he insisted that there must be a commitment to them, as they presented Christ as Saviour and Lord. Mere knowledge of them was not sufficient. At the same time, he was characteristically inarticulate concerning the social need and involvements of man, other than to say that through the conversion of many individuals man's problems would largely be resolved.

Through his pastoral activities, his preaching, and even his interest in ecclesiastical affairs, McCheyne's supreme aim was to create an atmosphere in which the people of Scotland might come into contact with Jesus Christ. His eye was single, the salvation of souls was his object. The purity and extension of the Church, the defence of Sabbath observance, and the Mission of Inquiry to Palestine were all subordinate to this objective. So devoted was he to this that he aroused the enmity of many who were not of the same mind.

Yet not even the most scathing rebuke or satire was able to deter him from the pursuit of this goal.

McCheyne was most outspoken concerning established practices and forms. For example, he was vehement in his support of Sabbath observance, while he was not in the vanguard of those who recognized and attempted to alleviate man's social ills. Generally, he was conservative, and he particularly admired the zeal and dedication of those who had gone before, such as the Covenanters--whose devices and methods he would like, on occasion, to have employed in the Church of his day.

The reasons for McCheyne's success as an Evangelical minister of the Church of Scotland are threefold. First was the personal aspect. His life in the family of an eminent lawyer paved the way for a certain confidence and poise which proved useful in later life. His physical appearance was striking and commanding. His personality was pleasant, and was characterized by a sense of humor and poetry. He had displayed a high type of scholarship, and wherever he went, he emerged as a leader of men. As a preacher and pastor he won the hearing of many who only shortly before had been outside the Church. By virtue of such qualities, he came to be admired and respected by both older and younger churchmen.

In the second place there was the spiritual aspect, which manifested itself in McCheyne's confidence in his salvation and calling. So certain was he that he was willing to seem foolish and unpopular, mindful that such was the case

with his Master. Thus he unswervingly preached in what were considered to be Moderate parishes and to other opposing groups. Previously confessing that his besetting sin was the desire for man's applause, he was assured that his message was committed to him by God, and whether or not it was accepted by men, it must be delivered. He allowed for no uncertainty, and he was described as being "thoroughly imbued with the truth of the doctrines he so zealously taught."¹

Thirdly, the time was opportune for men of such personal and spiritual qualities. The Church was just emerging from a period of coldness and inactivity. It fell to McCheyne's generation to be the first ministers in a revitalized Church, profiting from the leadership of Thomson and Chalmers. Inspired by these examples, McCheyne typified the new kind of fervent and evangelistic preachers which came to characterize the Scottish ministry of the nineteenth century.

Thus, although Robert McCheyne did not live to see the Disruption, he was, as Fleming stated, "the brightest spirit" of a movement which continued within the Free Church, and his personal influence survived "to a remarkable degree."² Not only was he benefited by the Evangelical Revival, he contributed to it to a large extent, placing himself in the path of history, which path the Church was to take. He was prominent in the missionary movement, in Church Extension, in devotional writings, and in revival and evangelism--all of which helped

1. Dundee Advertiser, March 31, 1843.

2. Fleming, History, p. 70.

usher in the Disruption and were significant in the latter half of the century. A. J. Campbell, a member of the post-Disruption Established Church, most aptly delineated the value of McCheyne's life and ministry, as he passed over such Evangelical leaders as Chalmers and Candlish, to select McCheyne as "a characteristic Evangelical of the period," and even going so far as to assert: "The sacrifices and the venturesomeness of the Disruption would have been impossible save in an atmosphere such as he created."¹

In the final analysis, the measure of success which McCheyne enjoyed must be ascribed to the working of the Holy Spirit of God. Human characteristics and the course of history must be taken into consideration, and yet without the blessing of God, this ministry, although devoted and sincere, would have been lack-lustre by human standards. McCheyne's ordination sermon, and the sermons preached on each succeeding anniversary, were taken from Isaiah 61:1: "The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek. . . ." So he felt, and so it was.

1. Campbell, op. cit., p. 243.

APPENDIX A

Bonar's Memoir and Remains of Robert Murray McCheyne

The greatest reason for the fame which has attached itself to McCheyne's name is the writing of the Memoir and Remains by Andrew Bonar, his close friend. Published in 1844, its circulation has been phenomenal, and it has gone through many editions and translations. Within twenty-five years it underwent 116 English editions, and more than 200,000 copies were printed up to the early 1900's. In 1947 a new edition was issued in America, totalling 16,000 copies in four printings.¹ Through the acceptance of this religious classic (which J. R. Fleming also described as "indispensable for the student of the times,"²) McCheyne's personal spiritual life has inspired and challenged Christians everywhere.³

From the first, however, there have been mixed reactions to the Memoir's ability to delineate completely the life of its subject. Free and Established Church ministers alike hailed the Memoir and praised its recollection of one who had been among them so recently. Increasing in popularity through the years, it came to be the definitive portrait of McCheyne; but the picture was devotionally one-sided. Succeeding genera-

1. Information from Editorial Division of Moody Press, Chicago. Notwithstanding the price (\$4.00), the new edition was sold out.

2. Fleming, History, p. 97.

3. An example of this is Andrew Bonar Law, British Prime Minister in 1922. His mother was so impressed by the Memoir that she wanted to name him after McCheyne. But already having a son named Robert, she did the next best thing, naming him after McCheyne's biographer. (Robert Blake, The Unknown Prime Minister, pp. 17,18.)

tions who had not participated in the "Ten Years' Conflict" seem not to have been aware that the spiritual giant also had his feet on the ground as an active combatant. MacPhail's Journal anticipated this in 1846 by criticizing Bonar for drawing so heavily from McCheyne's private diary, which was not intended to have been seen by others.¹ The lives of many, such as Chalmers, also abounded in the personal devotional aspect; but being juxtaposed to every-day living, this aspect was not distorted. In stressing this feature, Bonar, while adhering strictly to fact, over-emphasized it to the neglect of other features. Thus, the name "McCheyne" conjures up in the mind of modern man a picture of one who was essentially devotional.

Among McCheyne's friends there was the feeling that the Memoir "was so short and thus the half not told."² Bonar was felt to have been too close to McCheyne and to have neglected other aspects which "a distant onlooker would have been apt to give."³ Although he placed McCheyne among the Christian heroes (leading to the idea that McCheyne was far more significant after his death), the McCheyne he portrayed was incomplete. His account was accurate--the life was not falsely adorned. But while focusing on the personal spiritual life, he kept in the dark McCheyne's prominence as a rising young minister of the Church of Scotland. Although the statement is true, that

1. MacPhail's Ecclesiastical Journal, Feb., 1846, p. 55.

2. Jesse Thain, MS. letter to E. McCheyne, April 15, 1844. James Hamilton, quoted in Arnot, Hamilton, p. 241.

3. Presbyterian Review, July, 1844.

"no one in all the communion of the saints owes a larger debt to his biographer than McCheyne does . . ."¹ at the same time, it must be recognized that few biographers have thus hindered their subjects from their rightful places of importance in the total course of life.

Bonar's account of McCheyne's life is beyond criticism, having successfully passed the trial of time. It included what the author set out to do. Further, it can be safely said that the main devotional theme was what McCheyne would most have desired to have been written about him. From this standpoint, nothing more can be said about the Memoir. It is only from an historical point of view that a lack of comprehensiveness and completeness about McCheyne's life and time is manifested.

1. Alexander White, "Robert Murray McCheyne," being a sermon preached at St. Peter's, Dundee, March 25, 1923.

APPENDIX B

McCheyne's Extant Sermons

Key

AR	McCheyne, <u>Additional Remains</u> .
ar	McCheyne, <u>Additional Remains</u> , new edition.
BEE	McCheyne, <u>Brief Expositions of the Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia</u> .
CA	McCheyne, <u>Communion Addresses</u> .
DG	Moody Stuart, <u>Life and Letters of the Last Duchess of Gordon</u> .
GCD	McCheyne, <u>Glory of the Christian Dispensation</u> .
GV	McCheyne, <u>Gleanings after the Vintage</u> .
Howat	Hewat, <u>McCheyne from the Pew</u> .
MR	Bonar, <u>Memoir and Remains of Robert Murray McCheyne</u> .
NCMS	New College Manuscript, University of Edinburgh. Roman numerals signify specific Notebooks.
RT	McCheyne, <u>Revival Truth</u> , Wm. Reid, ed.
SPMS	St. Peter's (Dundee) Manuscript.
SSE	McCheyne, in <u>Sermons for Sabbath Evenings</u> , H. Miller, ed.
TLD	McCheyne, <u>Two Last Discourses</u> .
YMS	Yeaworth Manuscript.
*	Denotes reference to unlocated sermons.

<u>Reference</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Source</u>
<u>Genesis</u>		
1:2	Dec. 16, 1838	NCMS, AR p. 80
4:1-15	Dec., 1841	NCMS (VII)
18:19		NCMS, AR p. 117
19:26	1837	NCMS (III), AR p. 241
28:1	Sept. 2, 1841	NCMS (VII)
28:10	1840	NCMS (X)
37-39	Feb. 17, 1842	NCMS (VII)
49:13	April 5, 1834	NCMS
49:27	July 12, 1834	NCMS
<u>Exodus</u>		
3:1-7	Sept., 1841	NCMS (VII)
12:1-11	1841	NCMS (VII)
13:20,21	1841	NCMS (VII)
28:2		NCMS, MR p. 481

Leviticus

1		NCMS (VII)
16	Jan., 1842	NCMS (VII)

Numbers

10:29	July 22, 1838	NCMS, AR p. 87
14:7, 8	1838	NCMS, NCMS (I), AR p. 112
14:24	May, 1842	NCMS (XII), AR p. 372
19	1842	NCMS (VII)
21:1-9	1841	NCMS (VII)
22:32	March, 1837	NCMS, NCMS (III)

Deuteronomy

33:29	Jan. 29, 1837	NCMS, AR p. 249
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Joshua

*14:10-14	May 22, 1842	Howat, p. 53
20	April 15, 1838	NCMS

Ruth

*1:13, 14	May 10, 1841	Howat, p. 39
1:16	Aug., 1840	NCMS, NCMS (X), AR p. 259
1:16	April 17, 1836	NCMS

I Samuel

3:19	Feb. 25, 1838	NCMS, AR p. 73
16, 17, 18, 19, 28	1842	NCMS (VII)

II Samuel

23:5	1842	NCMS (XII)
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I Kings

17	1843	NCMS (VII)
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I Chronicles

13:15	1842	NCMS (VII)
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II Chronicles

5:13, 14	Nov. 24, 1839	NCMS, AR p. 105
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Nehemiah

*8:9, 10	Dec. 1, 1842 a.m.	Howat, p. 54
*8:9, 10	Dec. 1, 1842 p.m.	Howat, p. 55

Job

14:1,2	Feb. 20, 1842	NCMS (XII), AR p. 345
*19:25	Oct. 7, 1838	MR p. 90
33:16-26	Sept. 23, 1838	NCMS, NCMS (I)
34:29	Aug. 30, 1838	NCMS (I)
34:31,32	May, 1842	NCMS (XII)

Psalms

*22:1	April 1, 1838	MR p. 90
23	1837	NCMS (I)
31:5	1842	NCMS, AR p. 413
32	1837	NCMS (III)
40:1-3	July 23, 1835	NCMS, AR p. 17
41:9		NCMS
42:1	Nov. 4, 1838	NCMS, AR p. 402
*51:12,13	July 25, 1840	MR p. 142
51:17		NCMS, MR p. 393
58:3-5		NCMS, MR p. 396
69:1-3	Dec. 9, 1838	NCMS, NCMS (I)
85:6		NCMS
86:12,13	May, 1837	NCMS, NCMS (III)
90:14	Dec., 1838	NCMS, NCMS (I)
90:14		NCMS
107:43		NCMS (III)
110:3	1838	NCMS, NCMS (I)
118:22-24	Dec., 1841	NCMS
119:18		NCMS
137:1-6	Oct. 1, 1837	NCMS (I), ar p. 437
*139:23,24	1841	Howat, p. 42
143:10		NCMS

Proverbs

1:20-23	Nov. 15, 1835	NCMS, AR p. 1
3:5	1836	NCMS, AR p. 134
8:4	Nov. 18, 1838	NCMS, MR p. 326
8:31		NCMS
9:1-6	June 5, 1842	NCMS, AR p. 506
9:13-18		NCMS, AR p. 512
14:9		MR p. 468

Ecclesiastes

9:10

NCMS

Song of Solomon

2:2,3	1837	NCMS (I), MR p. 312
2:4		NCMS
2:8-17	Aug. 14, 1836	NCMS (III), MR p. 437
3:4	1842	NCMS (XII), MR p. 412

3:6-11	1840	NCMS, NCMS (X)
4:6-11	June 11, 1840	NCMS (X)
4:12-15		NCMS, MR p. 338
5:2-16	1837	AR p. 222
6:3	1837	NCMS (III)
8:5-7	1840	MR p. 343
8:5-7	April 30, 1841	NCMS (XIII)
8:13,14		NCMS, AR p. 202

Isaiah

9:6	1838	NCMS, NCMS (I)
12:1-3		NCMS, AR p. 209
22:12-14	May 7, 1840	NCMS (X)
25:6-8	Sept. 8, 1837	NCMS (I)
25:6-8	Oct. 20, 1840	NCMS, NCMS (X), AR p. 121
26:20	Jan. 15, 1837	NCMS, AR p. 273
28:14-18	Dec. 1, 1839	NCMS
30:19-21	Dec., 1837	NCMS, NCMS (I), RT p. 297
30:25,26	June 7, 1840	NCMS (X)
32:2	1837	NCMS (III)
33:14		NCMS (III)
35	June 26, 1836	NCMS
40:1-3	1836	NCMS, NCMS (III)
40:1-3	March 12, 1843	NCMS, AR p. 93
40:11	April 26, 1838	NCMS
41:17	Nov. 30, 1837	NCMS (I)
42:5-8	Jan. 7, 1838	NCMS, AR p. 53
42:18-21	Mar. 6, 1842	NCMS (XII), AR p. 349
44:3-5	July 1, 1833	NCMS, AR p. 66
44:21,22	July 8, 1838	NCMS, AR p. 60
46:3,4		GV p. 29
48:18	March, 1838	NCMS (I), MR p. 467
49:14,15		NCMS, AR p. 99
50:4	1837	NCMS
53:1-3	Nov., 1840	NCMS (X)
53:7	Oct., 1837	NCMS, AR p. 395
55:7	1842	NCMS (VIII)
58:13,14	1838	NCMS, NCMS (I)
60:1-3	March, 1838	NCMS, NCMS (I), AR p. 37
60:8	1837	NCMS, NCMS (III)
61:1	Nov. 27, 1836	NCMS
61:1	Nov. 26, 1837	NCMS, NCMS (I)
61:1	Nov. 25, 1838	NCMS
61:1	Nov. 27, 1840	NCMS (X)
61:1	Nov. 28, 1841	NCMS
61:1	Nov. 27, 1842	MR p. 527

Jeremiah

*1:4	May 17, 1836	MR p. 51
*6:14	Nov. 28, 1839	MR p. 131
6:16	Sept. 14, 1837	NCMS (I)

8:20	1836	NCMS
13:15-17	Dec. 3, 1837	NCMS, NCMS (I)
14:8,9 (I)	1837	NCMS, NCMS (III), YMS
14:8,9 (II)	1837	NCMS, MR p. 539
17:9,10		NCMS, NCMS (X), AR p. 127
*31:31,32	April 5, 1840	Howat p. 32
32:39	Oct., 1840	NCMS (X)
33:16		MR p. 469
<u>Ezekiel</u>		
*9:4	1841	Howat p. 42
*20:43	1837	MR p. 132
21:9,10	July 30, 1837	NCMS, NCMS (III) MR p. 313
22:14	Dec. 18, 1836	NCMS
33:14		NCMS
34:16	July, 1840	NCMS
36:27		NCMS
37:1-14	Dec. 25, 1836	NCMS, AR p. 264
<u>Hosea</u>		
2:6	1837	NCMS (I)
2:14,15	Dec., 1839	NCMS, NCMS (III)
6:4	Oct., 1840	NCMS, NCMS (X), MR p. 401
7:9		AR p. 417
14:1-6	Nov., 1836	NCMS
14:8	Oct. 25, 1840	NCMS, NCMS (X), MR p. 459
<u>Amos</u>		
6:1	May 15, 1836	NCMS
<u>Micah</u>		
6:6-8		NCMS, MR p. 381
7:5-7	Jan., 1838	NCMS (I)
<u>Zophaniah</u>		
3:9-11	Dec., 1837	NCMS (I)
<u>Zechariah</u>		
*3	March 5, 1840	MR p. 134
3:1,2	May 8, 1842	NCMS (XII)
4:2-6	Sept. 24, 1837	NCMS, NCMS (I)
8:13	1837	NCMS (III), ar p. 444
9:9	1842	NCMS (X), NCMS (XIII)
12:10-13:1	April 19, 1840	NCMS, AR p. 215
13:9	Sept. 30, 1838	NCMS

Malachi

1:6
3:16

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NCMS, MR p. 10
NCMS

Matthew

7:13, 14
8:1-14
8:5-13
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9:9-13
9:35-38
11:1-15
11:7-12
11:20-24
*11:28
12:10
13:31
14:12
15:29-39
22:1-14
25:1-13
25:5
25:6-9
25:10-13
26:26 (I)
26:26 (II)
27:46
27:51

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Aug. 27, 1840
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Feb. 4, 1837
Sept. 22, 1840
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NCMS, NCMS (III)
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NCMS, NCMS (XII), AR p. 500
MR p. 87
NCMS (VII)
NCMS
NCMS, NCMS (X)
NCMS (VII)
NCMS, RT p. 311
NCMS, AR p. 441
NCMS, AR p. 446
NCMS (XII), AR p. 451
NCMS (XII), AR p. 456
NCMS
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NCMS, NCMS (I), AR p. 175
NCMS, NCMS (I)

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2:27
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7:31-37
13:34-37
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16:15

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NCMS, RT p. 249
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NCMS, NCMS (I)
NCMS, NCMS (I), AR p. 235
NCMS (XII), NR p. 407
NCMS
NCMS (X)

Luke

3:16-17
4:14-30
8:4-8
8:35
8:26
10:29-37
11:21, 22
12:16-21
13:6-9
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April, 1838
Jan. 31, 1838
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NCMS, NCMS (I)
NCMS (VII)
NCMS (VII)
NCMS
NCMS
NCMS (VII)
NCMS, NCMS (I), RT p. 183
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NCMS (VII)
NCMS

15:1-10	April 30, 1835	NCMS
15:1-7	Dec. 20, 1835	NCMS
15:8-10	1842	NCMS (VII)
15:11-24	1842	NCMS (VII)
16:1-9	1842	NCMS (VII)
16:19-31	Aug., 1840	NCMS (X)
19:10	1840	NCMS, NCMS (X)
19:11	1840	NCMS (X)
19:41		NCMS, RT p. 275
22:31, 32	Nov., 1838	NCMS (I), SSE p. 335
22:44-48	Nov. 4, 1838	NCMS

John

1	Nov. 29, 1840	NCMS (X)
1:12	July 19, 1835	NCMS
3:3	July, 1840	NCMS (X)
5:40	July 30, 1837	NCMS, NCMS (III) AR p. 288
5:40	Oct. 8, 1842	AR p. 428, GV p. 1
6:66-68	1837	NCMS, AR p. 282
7:37	Oct. 22, 1837	NCMS, AR p. 295
10:1-6		AR p. 517
10:7-10		AR p. 522
10:11-15		AR p. 527
10:27-30		NCMS
11:1-4	Feb., 1842	NCMS, NCMS (XII), AR p. 461
11:5-10	Feb., 1842	NCMS, NCMS (XII), AR p. 467
11:11-16	March, 1842	NCMS, NCMS (XII), AR p. 473
11:17-27	April, 1842	NCMS, NCMS (XII), AR p. 479
11:28-35	May, 1842	NCMS, NCMS (XII), AR p. 485
11:35-42	May, 1842	NCMS, NCMS (XII), AR p. 490
11:43-46	May, 1842	NCMS, NCMS (XII), AR p. 494
12:20-26		NCMS, AR p. 196
13:21	Aug., 1836	NCMS, AR p. 43
14:6	1836	MR p. 299
14:9	Dec. 31, 1837	NCMS, AR p. 331
14:16	1837	NCMS (I)
16:8	Feb. 4, 1837	NCMS, AR p. 302
16:8	Feb. 11, 1837	NCMS, AR p. 312
17:24	Jan. 19, 1840	NCMS, MR p. 424
20:20		GV p. 13
20:26-28	Nov. 4, 1837	NCMS, AR p. 324

Acts

2:42	1837	NCMS (III)
5:1-4	Jan. 19, 1840	MR p. 431
7:59	Aug. 13, 1837	NCMS, AR p. 181
9	1837	NCMS (III)
*10	1839	MR p. 115
11	1840's	NCMS
*12:24		Howat p. 43
14:22		NCMS, CA p. 18

16
20:35
26:28

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NCMS
NCMS, AR p. 387
NCMS, RT p. 261

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1:15-18
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1:16
2:23,29
3:27,28
4:4-8
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5:1,2
5:5
*5:10
5:11
5:11
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6:15-17
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6:21
6:23
7:4
7:22-25
8:35-37
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8:38,39
9:22,23
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Nov. 2, 1836
July 1, 1835
Oct., 1840
March 16, 1842
Feb. 28, 1836
April 10, 1836
Feb. 27, 1836
May 22, 1836
July 1, 1835
April 17, 1842

Dec. 2, 1841
Dec. 9, 1841
Dec. 16, 1841
Jan. 6, 1842

Oct. 30, 1841

April 29, 1841
March 12, 1843
1839

April 2, 1840
1837

AR p. 432
NCMS, MR p. 446
NCMS (X)
NCMS, AR p. 141
NCMS
NCMS (X), MR p. 463
NCMS (XII)
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NCMS
NCMS (XII), AR p. 356
NCMS
NCMS (VII)
NCMS (VII)
NCMS (VII)
NCMS (VII)
NCMS
NCMS, MR p. 386
NCMS, AR p. 337
NCMS, RT p. 205
NCMS (XII)
TLD p. 17
NCMS
SPMS
GV p. 21
NCMS (I)

I Corinthians

1:18
*2:1-4
3:10
7:29-31
9:26,27
11:29,30
*15
16:22

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1841
Jan. 1, 1843
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NCMS
MR p. 124
NCMS (XII)
NCMS, AR p. 188
MR p. 418
NCMS, AR p. 381
MR p. 137
NCMS

II Corinthians

*2:14-16
4
4:1-6
5:14

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July 3, 1840
Nov. 28, 1841
Aug. 30, 1835

Hewat p. 42
NCMS (X)
NCMS
AR p. 26

5:17	March 6, 1836	NCMS
5:17	March 20, 1836	NCMS
8:9	April 18, 1841	NCMS, AR p. 160
*12:2,3	1840	DO p. 231
12:7-10	April 26, 1840	NCMS, NCMS (X), AR p. 230
13:5		NCMS

Galatians

3:13,14	April 30, 1840	NCMS (X)
3:20		NCMS
4:4-7	May 3, 1840	NCMS (X)
6:14	Oct. 25, 1840	NCMS, NCMS (X) MR p. 374

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2:1-7	May 7, 1840	NCMS (X)
3:14	Oct., 1840	NCMS (X)
4:30		AR p. 423
5:25-27	Jan., 1841	AR p. 156
6:1	Jan. 12, 1842	NCMS (XII)

Philippians

1:23	1837	NCMS, NCMS (III)
3:3	Feb. 29, 1840	NCMS
3:17-21	July 2, 1840	NCMS (X)
4:6,7	May 31, 1841	NCMS

Colossians

1:21-23	Aug. 1, 1841	NCMS, AR p. 168
1:27	1843	MR p. 414
2:6		NCMS
3:1	1837	NCMS, NCMS (I)

I Thessalonians

1:2,3	Aug. 19, 1838	NCMS (I)
1:4	Aug. 24, 1838	NCMS (I)
5:23	Oct., 1837	NCMS, CA p. 3

II Thessalonians

2:13	July, 1841	NCMS
2:16	Aug., 1840	NCMS (X)

I Timothy

*1:16	Jan. 1, 1843	MR p. 137
*5:17	Dec. 25, 1842	MR p. 155

II Timothy

4:1,2
4:7,8

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1842

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Titus

3:2-6 (I)
3:2-6 (II)

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1837

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NCMS (I)

Hebrews

1:1-3
1:13-2:1

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NCMS (X)

2:1-4

Aug. 30, 1840

NCMS

2:3

Aug., 1840

NCMS (X)

2:5-9

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NCMS

2:10

Sept. 1840

NCMS (X)

2:11-15

Sept., 1840

NCMS, NCMS (X)

2:16-18

Sept., 1840

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3:12-14

NCMS

3:16-19

NCMS

4:1,2

NCMS

4:3

NCMS

4:8-11

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NCMS

4:12,13

Nov., 1841

NCMS

4:14-16

NCMS

5:1-4

NCMS

5:4-7 (I)

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NCMS

5:4-7 (II)

1840's

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*5:10-14

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NCMS

6:16-18

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8:1,2

NCMS

8:3-6

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8:5,6

NCMS, GCD p. 9

8:7

NCMS, GCD p. 17

8:8-13

NCMS, GCD p. 27

9:1-5

NCMS, GCD p. 36

9:1-5

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9:1-5

GCD p. 55

9:6-8

GCD p. 65

9:9-13

GCD p. 78

9:11,12

GCD p. 92

9:13,14

GCD p. 101

9:15

GCD p. 112

10:19-22

March 12, 1843

TLD p. 5

11:1-12

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NCMS

13:8

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NCMS (I)

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I Peter

1:1-25 (I-XIV)	1838	NCMS (I)
2:1-25 (I-XI)	1838	NCMS (I)
3:1-22 (I-VII)	1838	NCMS (I)
3:7	Sept. 30, 1838	NCMS, NCMS (I)
5:7-9		NCMS

II Peter

2:9	May, 1842	NCMS (XII), AR p. 363
3:14	May 14, 1842	NCMS (XII), AR p. 367

I John

1:1-4	1839	NCMS, MR p. 332
3:1	Jan. 23, 1838	NCMS
3:4-10	1840	NCMS
3:10-16	March 15, 1840	NCMS
3:16		NCMS
4:7-13		MR p. 468
4:8-10		NCMS
4:18-21	April 26, 1840	NCMS, NCMS (X) M.
5:1-3	May 3, 1840	NCMS (X)
5:4, 5	May 9, 1840	NCMS (X)
5:6-10	June 7, 1840	NCMS (X)
5:11, 12	June, 1840	NCMS (X)
5:13-15	June, 1840	NCMS (X)
5:16	July, 1840	NCMS (X)

Jude

12, 13		NCMS
20, 21	Jan. 3, 1841	NCMS, MR p. 464
24	May 10, 1841	MR p. 434

Revelation

1:5	Aug., 1840	NCMS (X)
1:10	Dec. 26, 1841	NCMS
*1:15		MR p. 74
2:1-7	1838	BEE p. 5
2:8-11	1838	NCMS (I), BEE p. 16
2:12-17	1838	NCMS (I), BEE p. 24
2:18-29	1838	NCMS (I), BEE p. 33
3:1-6	1838	BEE p. 44
3:7-13	1838	NCMS (I), BEE p. 53
3:14-22	1838	NCMS (I), BEE p. 66
3:14-22	1842	NCMS
7:9-17	1840	MR p. 346
11:3	1838	NCMS, NCMS (I)
*12:11	Nov., 1839	MR p. 127
14:13	Aug., 1840	NCMS (X), MR p. 453

19:6	1837	NCMS (I)
20:11-15	March, 1842	NCMS (XII), MR p. 470
21:6-8	Aug. 30, 1840	NCMS (X)

Other Unpublished Sermons and Talks

<u>Identification</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Source</u>
Notes on Henry Martyn's Life		NCMS
"On the Character of Swartz"	Jan. 9, 1835	NCMS
"Essay on Lebanon"	1835	NCMS
Sermon for Gaelic Schools	Dec. 11, 1836	NCMS
Marriage Ceremony		NCMS
Form of Baptism		NCMS
Church Extension Speech		NCMS
"Hebrew Poetry"	May 5, 1840	NCMS (VII)
"Tents and Houses"	May, 1840	NCMS (VII)
"On the Jews"	July 10, 1840	NCMS (X)
"On the Jews"	July, 1840	NCMS (X)
"On Jewish Females"	Oct. 5, 1840	NCMS
Fencing the Tables	Oct. 25, 1840	NCMS (X)
Speech to Tract Society	April 21, 1841	NCMS (XIII)
"State of Church"	Oct. 13, 1841	NCMS (XIII)
"On the Jews"	Feb. 9, 1842	NCMS (XIII)
"On Patronage"	April 6, 1842	NCMS (XIII)
More than 35 lectures on the Catechism	1842	NCMS (VII)
"Speech on 'Free Presbyterian Church'"	Dec., 1842	NCMS (XV)

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- Additional Remains: Consisting of Various Sermons and Lectures, edited by Adam McCheyne, Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1848. Pp. 535. Also, "A new edition carefully revised," 1848.
- "Address on Behalf of Jewish Females," Edinburgh: Ladies Association in Behalf of Jewish Females, 1840. Pp. 3.
- Another Lily Gathered--Conversion of James Laing, Edinburgh: Call and Inglis, 1842. Pp. 17.
- Basket of Fragments, The Substance of Sermons Hitherto Unpublished, Aberdeen, 1848.
- Brief Expositions of the Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia, from notes by a hearer, Dundee: Wm. Middleton, 1843. Pp. 76.
- "Conversion of the Jews," Home and Foreign Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland, Feb. 1840, pp. 125 f.
- Daily Bread--Being a Calendar for Reading through the Word of God in a Year, Edinburgh, 1842. Pp. 10.
- De Heilizing van den Dag des Heeren, translated and edited by T. M. Locman, Rotterdam, 1858.
- Familiar Letters (1839), edited by Adam McCheyne, Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1848.
- Family Worship, James Gibson, editor, Glasgow, 1841, pp. 288-293.
- Gleanings after the Vintage, from notes by a hearer, Dundee, 1843. Pp. 36.
- "I Love the Lord's Day," The Witness, Jan. 15, 1842.
- Jewish Missionary Travels to the Jews in Jerusalem, Palestine, and Other Foreign Countries in 1839, (A. Black, A. Keith and A. A. Bonar, co-authors), Newcastle: Pattison and Ross, 1841.
- "Letter on Communion with Brethren of Other Denominations," Dundee Northern Warder, July 6, 1842.
- "Letter to Alexander MacNeill, Esq., Advocate; One of the Directors of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway," The Witness, Dec. 11, 1841.

Memoir and Remains of Robert Murray McChesno, A. A. Bonar, editor, Edinburgh: Wm. Oliphant and Co., 1865. Pp. 606.

"Missions," The Scottish Christian Herald, Vol. I, March 5, 1836, pp. 10-12.

Narrative of a Visit to the Holy Land and Mission of Inquiry to the Jews, Andrew A. Bonar, co-author, (3rd ed.), Edinburgh: William Oliphant, 1848. Pp. 555.

"Prayer to the Dead," The Scottish Christian Herald, Vol. I, March 26, 1836. pp. 60, 61.

Reasons Why Children Should Fly to Christ without Delay, Edinburgh, 1839. Pp. 5.

Revival Truth: Being Sermons Hitherto Unpublished, edited by William Reid, London: James Nisbet and Company, 1860.

"Sabat the Arabian," The Scottish Christian Herald, Vol. II, Feb. 25, 1837, pp. 114-117.

"Singing Praises," The Scottish Christian Herald, Vol. I, July 9, 1836, pp. 302-303.

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The Christian's Daily Companion, Nathaniel Paterson, editor, Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1843, pp. 256-285.

This Do in Remembrance of Me, 1840. Pp. 8.

"To the Children of God of Every Name in Scotland," The Witness, Feb. 19, 1842.

To the Lambs of the Flock, Edinburgh, 1840. Pp. 7.

Two Communion Addresses, Edinburgh: J. Taylor, 1858. Pp. 24.

Two Last Discourses Preached in St. Peter's, from notes by a hearer, Dundee: William Middleton, 1843. Pp. 31.

Why Is God a Stranger in the Land?, Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1838.

McCheyne Manuscripts

A. Sermons

See Appendix B for list of sermons, including 296 unpublished and 90 others published (sometimes edited) in various collections.

B. Letters (By, to, and concerning McCheyne)

Unless otherwise noted, all are in New College Library.

<u>Date</u>	<u>By</u>	<u>To</u>
Aug. 21, 1823	D. & Wm. McCheyne	Family
Aug. 16, 1827	R.M.M.	Family
Aug. 31, 1827	R.M.M.	Mother
Oct. 20, 1827	R.M.M.	D. McCheyne
Oct. 20, 1827	R.M.M.	Parents
Oct. 20, 1827	R.M.M.	E. McCheyne
Oct. 20, 1827	R.M.M.	Wm. McCheyne
Sept. 3, 1828	R.M.M.	Mother
Sept. 29, 1830	R.M.M.	Mother
Aug. 19, 1832	M. MacGregor	E. McCheyne
Oct. 13, 1832	M. MacGregor	Mrs. McCheyne
Mar. 3, 1835	McCheyne Family	Wm. McCheyne
April 8, 1835	McCheyne Family	Wm. McCheyne
Aug., 1835	R.M.M.	Mother
Nov. 9, 1835	R.M.M.	Family
Nov. 16, 1835	R.M.M.	Family
Nov. 23, 1835	R.M.M.	Family
Dec. 14, 1835	R.M.M.	Family
Dec. 18, 1835	R.M.M.	Mother
Jan. 25, 1836	R.M.M.	Family
Jan. 27, 1836	R.M.M. & E. McCheyne	Parents
Feb. 1, 1836	R.M.M.	Mother
Feb., 1836	R.M.M.	Mother
Feb. 15, 1836	R.M.M.	Mother
Feb. 22, 1836	E. McCheyne	Parents
Feb. 24, 1836	R.M.M.	Father
Mar. 9, 1836	R.M.M.	Father
April 6, 1836	John Bonar	St. Peter's
April 21, 1836	R.M.M.	Mother
May 2, 1836	R.M.M.	Mother
May 13, 1836	R.M.M.	Family
June 13, 1836	R.M.M.	Parents
June 30, 1836	R.M.M.	Parents
July 18, 1836	R.M.M.	Mother
July 20, 1836	R.M.M.	Mother
Aug. 1, 1836	R.M.M.	Mother
Aug. 8, 1836	R.M.M.	E. McCheyne
Aug. 19, 1836	R.M.M.	Father
Sept., 1836	R.M.M.	Family
Sept. 27, 1836	R.M.M.	Mother

<u>Date</u>	<u>By</u>	<u>To</u>
Nov. 30, 1836	R.M.M.	Family
Dec. 12, 1836	R.M.M.	Family
Dec. 29, 1836	R.M.M.	Father
Jan. 17, 1837	R.M.M.	Mother
Jan. 17, 1837	R.M.M.	Father
Jan. 20, 1837	Lady Carmichael	R.M.M.
Jan. 23, 1837	R.M.M.	Father
Jan. 30, 1837	R.M.M.	Lady Carmichael
Jan. 30, 1837	R.M.M.	Father
Feb. 3, 1837	R.M.M. & E. McCheyne	Father
Mar. 13, 1837	R.M.M.	Family
Mar. 22, 1837	R.M.M.	Family
April 17, 1837	R.M.M.	Family
April 20, 1837	R.M.M.	Family
June 10, 1837	J. M. Nairne	R.M.M.
June 12, 1837	R.M.M. & E. McCheyne	Family
June 19, 1837	R.M.M. & E. McCheyne	Father
July 1, 1837	R.M.M.	Family
July 5, 1837	J. M. Nairne	R.M.M.
July 14, 1837	A. Moody	R.M.M.
Sept. 5, 1837	R.M.M.	J. M. Nairne
Sept., 1837	A. Moody	R.M.M.
Sept. 23, 1837	J. C. Colquhoun	R.M.M.
Sept. 24, 1837	R.M.M.	Family
Sept. 27, 1837	Andrew Gray	R.M.M.
Oct. 3, 1837	R.M.M.	Mother
Oct. 7, 1837	R. Macdonald	R.M.M.
Oct. 7, 1837	J. C. Colquhoun	R.M.M.
Oct. 14, 1837	Dr. W. Gibson	R.M.M.
Oct. 16, 1837	R. Macdonald	R.M.M.
Oct. 19, 1837	John Bonar	R.M.M.
Oct. 22, 1837	Charles Nairn	R.M.M.
Oct., 1837	R.M.M.	Mother
Jan. 2, 1838	R.M.M.	Family
Jan. 19, 1838	R.M.M.	Parents
Feb. 6, 1838	R.M.M.	Wm. McCheyne
Feb. 15, 1838	R.M.M. & E. McCheyne	Parents
April 20, 1838	R.M.M. & E. McCheyne	Parents
May 18, 1838	R. Macdonald	R.M.M.
June 1, 1838	R.M.M.	Family
June, 1838	R.M.M.	Family
July 9, 1838	R.M.M.	Family
Aug. 14, 1838	R.M.M.	Father
Dec. 10, 1838	R. S. Candlish	R.M.M.
Dec. 25, 1838	J. Henderson	R.M.M.
Jan. 5, 1839	A. A. Bonar	R.M.M.
Jan. 12, 1839	R. S. Candlish	R.M.M.
Jan. 22, 1839	Andrew Nielson	R.M.M.
Jan. 24, 1839	P. H. Thoms	R.M.M.
Jan. 26, 1839	A. Henning	R.M.M.
Jan. 26, 1839	James Phin	R.M.M.
Jan. 29, 1839	Miss Likely	R.M.M.
Jan. 29, 1839	R.M.M.	Congregation

Date	By	To
Jan. 30, 1839	P. H. Thoms	R.M.M.
Jan. 30, 1839	Mrs. MacFarlane	R.M.M.
Feb. 2, 1839	Jane Sandeman	R.M.M.
Feb. 3, 1839	Mrs. Likely	R.M.M.
Feb. 4, 1839	David Rintoul	R.M.M.
Feb. 6, 1839	P. H. Thoms	R.M.M.
Feb. 6, 1839	J. L. Law	R.M.M.
Feb. 6, 1839	R.M.M.	Congregation
Feb. 12, 1839	A. N. Somerville	R.M.M.
Feb. 13, 1839	R.M.M.	Congregation
Feb. 20, 1839	P. H. Thoms	R.M.M.
Mar. 1, 1839	A. N. Somerville	R.M.M.
Mar. 2, 1839	Alexander Cumming	R.M.M.
Mar. 2, 1839	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.
Mar. 4, 1839	Mrs. Thain	R.M.M.
Mar. 4, 1839	A. Fleming	R.M.M.
Mar. 8, 1839	A. A. Bonar	R.M.M.
Mar. 9, 1839	James Grierson	R.M.M.
Mar. 9, 1839	Miss Collier	R.M.M.
Mar. 10, 1839	Mrs. Thain	R.M.M.
Mar. 11, 1839	Elders of St. Peter's	R.M.M.
Mar. 11, 1839	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.
Mar. 12, 1839	John Pagan	R.M.M.
Mar. 12, 1839	Edward Caird	R.M.M.
Mar. 15, 1839	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.
Mar. 18, 1839	S. Banite & E. McLaren	R.M.M.
April 6, 1839	A. McCheyne	R.M.M.
April 10, 1839	Sir John McNeill	Letter of Intro- duction for R.M.M.
April 10, 1839	Sir John McNeill	Col. Taylor, Letter of Introduction
May 14, 1839	A. A. Bonar	Congregation
June 12, 1839	R.M.M.	Mrs. Thain
June 29, 1839	A. A. Bonar	Congregation
Sept. 26, 1839	R.M.M.	R. S. Candlish
Oct. 10, 1839	M. MacGregor	Mrs. McCheyne
Oct. 25, 1839	R.M.M.	Mrs. Thain
Nov. 6, 1839	Cyrus Hamlin	A. McCheyne
Nov. 8, 1839	R. S. Candlish	R.M.M.
Nov. 30, 1839	Dr. Thomson	R.M.M.
Nov. 30, 1839	Agnes Crow	R.M.M.
Dec. 3, 1839	W. Lawrie	R.M.M.
Dec. 4, 1839	Bollson	R.M.M.
Dec. 8, 1839	A. A. Bonar	R.M.M.
Dec., 1839	Mrs. Likely	R.M.M.
Dec. 9, 1839	R.M.M.	Family
Dec. 9, 1839	Children of St. Peter's	R.M.M.
Dec. 10, 1839	Andrew Cant	R.M.M.
Dec. 11, 1839	Jane Petrie	R.M.M.
Dec. 12, 1839	Thomas Brown	R.M.M.
Dec. 12, 1839	Alexander Laing	R.M.M.
Dec. 13, 1839	Robert Wodrow	R.M.M.

<u>Date</u>	<u>By</u>	<u>To</u>
Dec. 15, 1839	(Anonymous)	R.M.M.
Dec. 16, 1839	Rev. Ker	R.M.M.
Dec. 17, 1839	Wm. Cunningham	R.M.M.
Dec. 17, 1839	R. Macdonald	R.M.M.
Dec. 24, 1839	David Key	R.M.M.
Dec. 30, 1839	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.
Dec. 31, 1839	R.M.M.	E. McCheyne
Jan. 2, 1840	D. B. Mellis	R.M.M.
Jan. 7, 1840	J. Patterson	R.M.M.
Jan. 11, 1840	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.
Jan. 24, 1840	Mrs. E. Baxter	R.M.M.
Jan. 24, 1840	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.
Jan. 29, 1840	Alexander Dunlop	R.M.M.
Jan. 30, 1840	Horatius Bonar	R.M.M.
Feb. 5, 1840	R. S. Candlish	R.M.M.
Feb. 21, 1840	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.
Feb. 26, 1840	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.
Mar. 9, 1840	A. Nielson	R.M.M.
April 23, 1840	Bellson	R.M.M.
June 4, 1840	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.
June 24, 1840	Mary Tate	R.M.M.
June 26, 1840	A. A. Bonar	R.M.M.
July 2, 1840	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.
Aug. 31, 1840	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.
Sept. 14, 1840	Thomas Chalmers	R.M.M.
Sept. 21, 1840	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.
Oct. 8, 1840	Horatius Bonar	R.M.M.
Oct. 17, 1840	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.
Oct. 21, 1840	Hamilton	R.M.M.
Oct. 27, 1840	A. A. Bonar	R.M.M.
Oct. 30, 1840	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.
Nov. 2, 1840	Peter Croll	R.M.M.
Nov. 5, 1840	David Tullo	R.M.M.
Nov. 11, 1840	Peter Croll	R.M.M.
Nov. 14, 1840	Peter Croll	R.M.M.
Nov. 25, 1840	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.
Jan. 1, 1841	J. Mathewson	R.M.M.
Jan. 14, 1841	Daniel Edward	R.M.M.
Jan. 25, 1841	Aberdeen Presbytery	R.M.M.
Feb. 1, 1841	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.
Feb., 1841	Dundee Presbytery (Draft by R.M.M.)	Dundee & Arbroath Railway
Feb. 12, 1841	Henry Duncan	R.M.M.
Feb. 14, 1841	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.
Feb. 24, 1841	R.M.M.	E. McCheyne
Feb. 24, 1841	R.M.M.	Church Workers
Mar. 2, 1841	R.M.M.	E. McCheyne
Mar. 3, 1841	Jewish Committee	R.M.M.
April, 1841	R.M.M.	St. Martin's Church
April 19, 1841	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.
April 24, 1841	R.M.M.	Parents
May 7, 1841	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.

<u>Date</u>	<u>By</u>	<u>To</u>
May, 1841	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.
May 29, 1841	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.
June 8, 1841	Henry Duncan	R.M.M.
June 18, 1841	Sir Andrew Agnew	R.M.M.
Aug. 11, 1841	John Purves	R.M.M.
Sept. 7, 1841	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.
Sept. 29, 1841	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.
Nov. 19, 1841	Sir Andrew Agnew	R.M.M.
Dec. 1, 1841	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.
Jan. 4, 1842	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.
Jan. 18, 1842	Rees	R.M.M.
Jan. 21, 1842	John Thain	R.M.M.
Feb. 1, 1842	James Hamilton	W. C. Burns
Feb., 1842	James Duncan	R.M.M.
Feb. 7, 1842	Christina Gouldie	R.M.M.
Feb. 21, 1842	Alexander Thain	R.M.M.
Feb. 25, 1842	Margaret Murray	R.M.M.
Mar. 1, 1842	R.M.M.	Father
Mar. 8, 1842	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.
April 2, 1842	Alexander Thain	R.M.M.
April 25, 1842	George F. Fox	R.M.M.
April 26, 1842	Henry Calman	R.M.M.
April 27, 1842	Lover of Protestant Truth	R.M.M.
May 23, 1842	Janet Robertson	R.M.M.
June, 1842	Jane Fraser	R.M.M.
June 3, 1842	William H. Burns	R.M.M.
June 11, 1842	Daniel Edward	R.M.M.
June 13, 1842	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.
June 28, 1842	Dr. J. L. Paterson	R.M.M.
Aug. 3, 1842	R.M.M.	E. McCheyne
Sept. 8, 1842	Maria Dickson	R.M.M.
Sept. 17, 1842	Maria Dickson	R.M.M.
Oct. 18, 1842	R.M.M.	Horatius Bonar
Oct. 26, 1842	R.M.M.	Mother
Dec., 1842	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.
Dec. 21, 1842	J. B. Johnstone	R.M.M.
Dec. 26, 1842	W. C. Burns	R.M.M.
Jan. 19, 1843	Georgina Dickson	R.M.M.
Jan. 25, 1843	Horatius Bonar	R.M.M.
Jan. 30, 1843	R.M.M.	Father
Jan. 31, 1843	Lady Fowles	R.M.M.
Feb., 1843	Georgina Dickson	R.M.M.
Feb. 20, 1843	Maria Dickson	R.M.M.
Feb. 28, 1843	R. S. Candlish	R.M.M.
Mar. 2, 1843	Maria Dickson	R.M.M.
Mar. 6, 1843	R.M.M.	John Bonar
Mar. 11, 1843	E. Urmston	R.M.M.
Mar. 14, 1843	Rev. J. Gibson	R.M.M.
Mar. 14, 1843	Charlotte Dickson	R.M.M.
Mar. 16, 1843	Dr. Gibson	Mrs. McCheyne
Mar. 20, 1843	P. H. Thoms	R.M.M.
Mar. 20, 1843	Agnes Miller	R.M.M.

<u>Date</u>	<u>By</u>	<u>To</u>
Mar. 20, 1843	Rev. J. Morgan	R.M.M.
Mar. 20, 1843	Gen. Stirling	Mrs. McChoyne
Mar. 21, 1843	Rev. John Murray	R.M.M.
Mar. 22, 1843	Rev. J. Morrison	R.M.M.
Mar. 25, 1843	Graham	A. McChoyne
Mar. 26, 1843	Ann Bonar	Mr. & Mrs. McChoyne
Mar. 26, 1843	Miss Collier	E. McChoyne
Mar. 26, 1843	Miss Burn	E. McChoyne
Mar. 27, 1843	Miss Shaw	Mrs. McChoyne
Mar. 27, 1843	Georgina Dickson	R.M.M.
Mar. 27, 1843	Mrs. Thaw	Mrs. McChoyne
Mar. 27, 1843	John Milne	A. McChoyne
Mar. 27, 1843	Maria Dickson	R.M.M.
Mar. 27, 1843	Mrs. Dr. Hunter	A. McChoyne
Mar. 27, 1843	Rev. J. Morgan	E. McChoyne
Mar. 27, 1843	Rev. C. McAlister	Mrs. McChoyne
Mar. 27, 1843	Anne Clark	A. McChoyne
Mar. 27, 1843	E. Dickson	A. McChoyne
Mar. 27, 1843	Charlotte Dickson	R.M.M.
Mar. 27, 1843	Mary Davidson	Mrs. McChoyne
Mar. 27, 1843	Wm. McChoyne	A. McChoyne
Mar. 27, 1843	Mrs. Hosack	A. McChoyne
Mar. 27, 1843	St. Peter's Kirk-Session (Memorial Minute)	A. McChoyne
Mar. 28, 1843	R. S. Candlish	P. H. Thoms
Mar. 28, 1843	Wm. McChoyne	A. McChoyne
Mar. 28, 1843	Miss J. Graham	A. McChoyne
Mar. 28, 1843	A. McChoyne	(Funeral Invitation)
Mar. 28, 1843	Wm. Stothert	A. McChoyne
Mar. 28, 1843	Mrs. John Roxburgh	A. McChoyne
Mar., 1843	Rev. J. Milne	A. McChoyne
Mar. 29, 1843	Miss Graham	Mr. & Mrs. McChoyne
Mar. 29, 1843	James Davidson	A. McChoyne
Mar. 29, 1843	W. Fraser, W.S.	A. McChoyne
Mar. 29, 1843	John Bonar	A. McChoyne
Mar. 29, 1843	E. Urquhart	A. McChoyne
Mar. 29, 1843	D. Cannan	A. McChoyne
Mar. 30, 1843	A. McChoyne	St. Peter's Kirk-Session
Mar. 30, 1843	Gen. Stirling	A. McChoyne
Mar. 30, 1843	James Graham	A. McChoyne
Mar. 30, 1843	Anne MacNab	A. McChoyne
Mar. 31, 1843	John Hosack	Mrs. McChoyne
Mar. 31, 1843	J. H. Stewart	A. McChoyne
April 1, 1843	E. Urmston	A. McChoyne
April 1, 1843	Mrs. Sheppard	Mrs. McChoyne
April 2, 1843	Rev. Shepherd	A. McChoyne
April 2, 1843	Mrs. Urmston	Mrs. McChoyne
April 2, 1843	Miss Graham	Mrs. McChoyne
April 3, 1843	Jesse Stewart	E. McChoyne
April 3, 1843	Miss Miller	E. McChoyne
April 3, 1843	Miss Gillespie	Mr. & Mrs. McChoyne
April 3, 1843	Mrs. Nielson	Mr. & Mrs. McChoyne

Date	By	To
April 3, 1843	Rev. Wallace Duncan	Mrs. McCheyne
April 3, 1843	St. Peter's Kirk-Session	A. McCheyne
April 4, 1843	Miss Carnegie	McCheyne Family
April 4, 1843	Miss J. Graham	E. McCheyne
April 4, 1843	Mrs. Hastings	Mrs. McCheyne
April 5, 1843	Dundee Presbytery	McCheyne Family
April, 1843	A. McCheyne	Dundee Presbytery
April 7, 1843	Mrs. MacDonell	Mrs. McCheyne
April 7, 1843	James Bonar	A. McCheyne
April 10, 1843	A. McCheyne	St. Peter's Kirk-Session
April 22, 1843	A. McCheyne	A. A. Bonar
April 27, 1843	A. McCheyne	A. A. Bonar
April 15, 1844	Jessie Thain	E. McCheyne
Oct. 21, 1846	Wm. Middleton	A. McCheyne
n. d.	Charlotte, Julia	R.M.M.
	Maria & Georgina Dickson	
	(19 letters)	

At St. Peter's Dundee

Feb. 3, 1836	R.M.M.
Jan. 23, 1840	R.M.M.

Family
James Grierson

C. Notebooks All in New College Library

- I. 1837-1838 Sermon outlines. Reading notes.
- II. 1827-1831 Poems, etc. written as a boy. Also some sketches.
- III. 1835-1837? Sermons. Outlines. Reading notes. Texts to be preached on. Contents in back.
- IV. 1839 Sixteen letters from R.M.M. to family while on trip to Palestine.
- V. 1830's "Leading doctrines of Christianity." One page given to each.
- VI. 1832 Class notes: Chalmers.
- VII. 1832-1841 Class notes: Chalmers. Hebrew notes. Sermon outlines. Catechism notes. Notes for communicants' class (1840) and lists of class members.
- VIII. 1839-1842 Diary and sketches of Palestine trip. "Personal Reformation." Article on James Laing.

- IX. 1839 Diary of trip to Palestine. Sketches, poetry, etc.
- X. 1835-1840 Visitation notebook. Sermon outlines and notes. Notes on Jews and religious state of towns affected by revival of 1839.
- XI. 1839 Diary and sketches of trip to Palestine.
- XII. 1842 Sermons
- XIII. 1841-1843 Trips to Ireland, Newcastle and Aberdeen. Sermon notes.
- XIV. 1836-1838 Dundee visitation notes and records of interviews.
- XV. 1839-1842 Outlines of talks for "Free Presbyterian church," Jewish missions, etc. Poems.
- XVI. 1842-1843 Convocation notes. Itineration (Deer and Ellon, etc.). Sermon notes.
- XVII. 1820-1832 Poetry scrapbook compiled by David McCheyne and R.M.M.
- XVIII. 1831-1836 Poetry scrapbook given by Mary Macgregor to R.M.M. Many poems and sketches by both.
- XIX. 1811-1813 Poetry scrapbook of Isabella Dickson (relative of R.M.M.).
- XX. 1821 Poetry scrapbook of David McCheyne.
- XXI. 1848 Notebook in Eliza McCheyne's hand.

D. Miscellaneous Writings

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"Genesis 49:13," Ibid, pp. 511-526, April 5, 1834.

"Genesis 49:27," Ibid, pp. 717-731, July 12, 1834.

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A. Books

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